THE

WORKS

OF

Dr. Jonathan Swift,

Dean of St. PATRICK's, Dublin.

VOLUME XV.

Collected and Revised by DEANE SWIFT, Esq. of GOODRICH, in HEREFORDSHIRE.

Hæ tibi erunt Artes. VIRGIL.

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THE EDITORS

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TO

THE READER.

IT may appear ſomewhat ſtrange to the world, and eſpecially to men of taſte and learning, that ſo many poetical, hiſtorical, and other miſcellaneous productions of Dr. SWIFT, ſhould have lain dormant ſuch a number of years, after the deceaſe of an Author ſo univerſally admired in all nations of the globe, which have any ſhare of politeneſs. However, not to be over and above particular on this occaſion; were it of any conſequence to relate by what extraordinary means theſe ſeveral Papers were reſcued from the injuries of time and accidents; or, to inſiſt upon ſome other circumſtances, which, at preſent, we chuſe to paſs over

in ſilence; it would, perhaps, ſeem rather more aſtoniſhing, that ever indeed they ſhould have had the good fortune to make their appearance at all. It may ſuffice to obſerve, That in order to gratify the curioſity of the Public, we ſhall aſcertain theſe Writings to be genuine; although to every man of taſte and judgment they carry their own marks of authenticity. And therefore, as all the original Manuſcripts, not to mention two or three Poems taken from the public prints, are in the doctor's own hand; or, tranſcribed by his Amanuenſis, have the ſanction of his indorſement; ſome few copies, for which indeed we have the honour to be obliged to our friends, only excepted; we ſhall depoſite them in the Britiſh Muſeum, provided the Governors will pleaſe to receive them into their collection.

LONDON,
March 18, 1765.

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MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

RELATING TO

That Change which happened in the QUEEN'S MINISTRY in the Year 1710.

Written in OCTOBER, MDCC XIV.

HAVING continued, for near the ſpace of four years, in a good degree of confidence with the miniſtry then in being, although not with ſo much power as was believed, or at leaſt given out, by my friends as well as by my enemies, eſpecially the latter, in both houſes of parliament: And this having happened during a very buſy period of negotiations abroad, and management or intrigue at home, I thought it might probably, ſome years hence, when the preſent ſcene ſhall have given place to many new ones that will ariſe, be an entertainment to thoſe who will have any perſonal regard for me or my memory, to ſet down ſome particularities which fell under my knowledge and obſervation, while I was ſuppoſed, whether truly or no, to have part in the ſecret of affairs.

One circumſtance I am a little ſorry for, that I was too negligent (againſt what I had always reſolved, and blamed others for not doing) in taking hints or journals of every thing material as it paſſed, whereof I omitted many that I cannot now recollect, although I was convinced, by a thouſand inſtances, of the weakneſs of my memory. But, to ſay the truth, the nearer knowledge any man has in the affairs at court, the leſs he thinks them of conſequence, or worth regarding. And thoſe kind of paſſages, which I have with curioſity found or ſearched for in memoirs, I wholly neglected when they were freely communicated to me from the firſt hand, or were ſuch wherein I acted myſelf. This I take to be one among other reaſons why great miniſters ſeldom give themſelves the trouble of recording the important parts of that adminiſtration, where they themſelves are at the head. They have extinguiſhed all that vanity which uſually poſſeſſes men during their firſt acquaintance at courts; and, like the maſters of a puppet-ſhow, they deſpiſe thoſe motions which fill common ſpectators with wonder and delight.

However, upon frequently recollecting the courſe of affairs during the time I was either truſted or employed, I am deceived, if in hiſtory there can be found any period more full of paſſages, which the curious of another age would be glad to know the ſecret ſprings of; or from whence more uſeful inſtructions may be gathered for directing the conduct of

of thoſe, who ſhall hereafter have the good or ill fortune to be engaged in buſineſs of the ſtate.

It may probably enough happen, that thoſe who ſhall at any time hereafter peruſe theſe papers, may think it not ſuitable to the nature of them, that, upon occaſion, I ſometimes make mention of myſelf; who, during theſe tranſactions, and ever ſince, was a perſon without titles or public employment. But, ſince the chief leaders of the faction then out of power were pleaſed, in both houſes of parliament, to take every opportunity of ſhewing their malice, by mentioning me (and often by name) as one who was in the ſecret of all affairs, and without whoſe advice or privity, nothing was done, or employment diſpoſed of, it will not, perhaps, be improper to take notice of ſome paſſages, wherein the public and myſelf were jointly concerned; not to mention that the chief cauſe of giving myſelf this trouble, is to ſatisfy my particular friends; and, at worſt, if, after the fate of manuſcripts, theſe papers ſhall, by accident or indiſcretion, fall into the public view, they will be no more liable to cenſure than other memoirs, publiſhed for many years paſt, in *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Italian*. The period of time I deſign to treat on, will commence with *September* 1710, from which time, till within two months of the queen's death, I was never abſent from court, except about ſix weeks in *Ireland*.

But, becauſe the great change of employments in her majeſty's family, as well as in

kingdom, was begun ſome months before, and had been thought on from the time of Dr. *Sacheverel's* trial, while I was abſent, and lived retired in *Ireland*; I ſhall endeavour to recollect, as well as I am able, ſome particulars I learned from the earl of *Oxford*, the lord viſcount *Bolingbroke*, the lady *Maſham*, and doctor *Atterbury*, who were beſt able to inform me.

I have often with great earneſtneſs preſſed the earl of *Oxford*, then lord treaſurer, and my lady *Maſham*, who were the ſole perſons which brought about that great change, to give me a particular account of every circumſtance and paſſage during that whole tranſaction. Nor did this requeſt proceed from curioſity, or the ambition of knowing and publiſhing important ſecrets; but, from a ſincere honeſt deſign of juſtifying the queen, in the meaſures ſhe then took and after purſued, againſt a load of ſcandal which would certainly be thrown on her memory, with ſome appearance of truth. It was eaſy to foreſee, even at that diſtance, that the queen could not live many years; and it was ſufficiently known, what party was moſt in the good graces of the ſucceſſor; and, conſequently, what turns would be given by hiſtorians to her majeſty's proceedings, under a reign, where direct contrary meaſures would probably be taken. For inſtance, what would be more eaſy to a malicious pen than to charge the queen with inconſtancy, weakneſs, and ingratitude, in removing and diſgracing the duke

of

of *Marlborough*, who had ſo many years commanded her armies with victory and ſucceſs; in diſplacing ſo many great officers of her court and kingdom, by whoſe counſels ſhe had in all appearance ſo proſperouſly governed; in extending the marks of her ſeverity and diſpleaſure towards the wife and daughters, as well as relations and allies, of that perſon ſhe had ſo long employed and ſo highly truſted; and all this by the private intrigues of a woman of her bed-chamber, in concert with an artful man, who might be ſuppoſed to have acted that bold part only from a motive of revenge upon the loſs of his employments, or of ambition to come again into power?

Theſe were ſome of the arguments I often made uſe of with great freedom, both to the earl of *Oxford* and my lady *Maſham*, to incite them to furniſh me with materials for a fair account of that great tranſaction, to which they always ſeemed as well diſpoſed as myſelf. My lady *Maſham* did likewiſe aſſure me, that ſhe had frequently informed the queen of my requeſt, which her majeſty thought very reaſonable, and did appear upon all occaſions as deſirous of preſerving reputation with poſterity, as might juſtly become a great prince to be.

But that incurable diſeaſe, either of negligence or procraſtination, which influenced every action both of the queen and the earl of *Oxford*, did in ſome ſort infect every one who had credit or buſineſs in court: For, after ſoliciting near four years, to obtain a

point of ſo great importance to the queen and her ſervants, from whence I could propoſe nothing but trouble, malice, and envy to myſelf, it was perpetually put off.

The ſcheme I offered was to write her majeſty's reign; and, that this work might not look officious or affected, I was ready to accept the hiſtoriographer's place, although of inconſiderable value, and of which I might be ſure to be deprived upon the queen's death.

This negligence in the queen, the earl of *Oxford*, and my lady *Maſham*, is the cauſe that I can give but an imperfect account of the firſt ſprings of that great change at court, after the trial of doctor *Sacheverel*, my memory not ſerving me to retain all the facts related to me; but what I remember I ſhall here ſet down.

There was not, perhaps, in all *England*, a perſon who underſtood more artificially to diſguiſe her paſſions than the late queen. Upon her firſt coming to the throne, the ducheſs of *Marlborough* had loſt all favour with her, as her majeſty hath often acknowledged to thoſe who have told it me. That lady had long preſerved an aſcendant over her miſtreſs, while ſhe was princeſs, which her majeſty, when ſhe came to the crown, had neither patience to bear, nor ſpirit to ſubdue. This princeſs was ſo exact an obſerver of forms, that ſhe ſeemed to have made it her ſtudy, and would often deſcend ſo low, as to obſerve, in her domeſticks of either ſex, who came in her preſence, whether a ruffle, a periwig, or the lining

lining of a coat, were unſuitable at certain times. The ducheſs, on the other ſide, who had been uſed to great familiarities, could not take it into her head, that any change of ſtation ſhould put her upon changing her behaviour, the continuance of which was the more offenſive to her majeſty, whoſe other ſervants, of the greateſt quality, did then treat her with the utmoſt reſpect.

The earl of *Godolphin* held in favour about three years longer, and then declined, although he kept his office till the general change. I have heard ſeveral reaſons given for her majeſty's early diſguſt againſt that lord. The ducheſs, who had long been his friend, often prevailed on him to ſolicit the queen upon things very unacceptable to her, which her majeſty liked the worſe, as knowing from whence they originally came; and his lordſhip, although he endeavoured to be as reſpectful as his nature would permit him, was, upon all occaſions, much too arbitrary and obtruding.

To the duke of *Marlborough* ſhe was wholly indifferent (as her nature in general prompted her to be), until his reſtleſs, impatient behaviour had turned her againſt him.

The queen had not a ſtock of amity to ſerve above one object at a time; and further than a bare good or ill opinion, which ſhe ſoon contracted and changed, and, very often, upon light grounds, ſhe could hardly be ſaid either to love or to hate any body.

She grew ſo jealous upon the change of her ſervants, that often, out of fear of being impoſed upon, by an over caution ſhe would impoſe upon herſelf; ſhe took a delight in refuſing thoſe who were thought to have greateſt power with her, even in the moſt reaſonable things, and ſuch as were neceſſary for her ſervice; nor would let them be done till ſhe fell into the humour of it herſelf.

Upon the grounds I have already related, her majeſty had gradually conceived a moſt rooted averſion from the duke and ducheſs of *Marlborough*, and the earl of *Godolphin*; which ſpread, in time, through all their allies and relations, particularly to the earl of *Hertford*, whoſe ungovernable temper had made him fail in his perſonal reſpects to her majeſty.

This I take to have been the principal ground of the queen's reſolutions to make a change of ſome officers both in her family and kingdom; and that theſe reſolutions did not proceed from any real apprehenſion ſhe had of danger to the church or monarchy. For, although ſhe had been ſtrictly educated in the former, and very much approved its doctrine and diſcipline, yet ſhe was not ſo ready to foreſee any attempts againſt it by the party then preſiding. But the fears that moſt influenced her were ſuch as concerned her own power and prerogative, which thoſe neareſt about her were making daily encroachments upon, by their undutiful behaviour and unreaſonable demands.

The

The deportment of the ducheſs of *Marlborough*, while the prince lay expiring, was of ſuch a nature, that the queen, then in the heights of grief, was not able to bear it; but, with marks of diſpleaſure in her countenance, ſhe ordered the ducheſs to withdraw, and ſend Mrs. *Maſham* to her.

I forgot to relate an affair that happened, as I remember, about a twelvemonth before prince *George's* death. This prince had long conceived an incurable averſion from that party, and was reſolved to uſe his utmoſt credit with the queen, his wife, to get rid of them. There fell out an incident which ſeemed to favour this attempt; for the queen, reſolving to beſtow a regiment upon Mr. *Hill*, brother to Mrs. *Maſham*, ſignified her pleaſure to the duke of *Marlborough*; who, in a manner not very dutiful, refuſed his conſent, and retired in anger to the country. After ſome heats, the regiment was given to a third perſon: But the queen reſented this matter ſo highly, which ſhe thought had been promoted by the earl of *Godolphin*, that ſhe reſolved immediately to remove the latter. I was told, and it was then generally reported, that Mr. *St. John* carried a letter from her majeſty to the duke of *Marlborough*, ſignifying her reſolutions to take the ſtaff from the earl of *Godolphin*, and that ſhe expected his grace's compliance; to which the duke returned a very humble anſwer. I cannot engage for this paſſage, it having never come into my head to aſk Mr. *St. John* about it:

But the account Mr. *Harley* and he gave me was, That the duke of *Marlbourgh* and the earl of *Godolphin* had concerted with them upon a moderating ſcheme, wherein ſome of both parties ſhould be employed, but with a more favourable aſpect towards the church: That a meeting was appointed for compleating this work: That, in the mean-time, the duke and ducheſs of *Marlborough*, and the earl of *Godolphin*, were ſecretly uſing their utmoſt efforts with the queen to turn Mr. *Harley* (who was then ſecretary of ſtate) and all his friends out of their employments: That the queen, on the other ſide, who had a great opinion of Mr. *Harley's* integrity and abilities, would not conſent, and was determined to remove the earl of *Godolphin*. This was not above a month before the ſeaſon of the year when the duke of *Marlborough* was to embark for *Flanders*; and, the very night in which Mr. *Harley* and his friends had appointed to meet his grace and the earl of *Godolphin*, *George Churchill*, the duke's brother, who was in good credit with the prince, told his highneſs, that the duke was firmly determined to lay down his command, if the earl of *Godolphin* went out, or Mr. *Harley* and his friends ſuffered to continue in. The prince, thus intimidated by *Churchill*, reported the matter to the queen; and, the time and ſervice preſſing, her majeſty was unwillingly forced to yield. The two great lords failed the appointment; and, the next morn-

morning, the duke at his levee ſaid aloud in a careleſs manner, to thoſe who ſtood round him, That Mr. *Harley* was turned out.

Upon the prince's death, *November* 1708, the two great lords ſo often mentioned, who had been for ſome years united with the low-church party, and had long engaged to take them into power, were now in a capacity to make good their promiſes, which his highneſs had ever moſt ſtrenuouſly oppoſed. The lord *Sommers* was made preſident of the council, the earl of *Wharton* lieutenant of *Ireland*, and ſome others of the ſame ſtamp were put into conſiderable poſts.

It ſhould ſeem to me, that the duke and earl were not very willingly drawn to impart ſo much power to thoſe of that party, who expected theſe removals for ſome years before, and were always put off upon pretence of the prince's unwillingneſs to have them employed. And I remember, ſome months before his highneſs's death, my lord *Sommers*, who is a perſon of reſerve enough, complained to me with great freedom of the ingratitude of the duke and earl, who, after the ſervice he and his friends had done them in making the Union, would hardly treat them with common civility. Neither ſhall I ever forget, that he readily owned to me, that the Union was of no other ſervice to the nation, than by giving a remedy to that evil, which my lord *Godolphin* had brought upon us, by perſuading the queen to paſs *the Scotch*

act of ſecurity. But, to return from this digreſſion.

Upon the admiſſion of theſe men into employments, the court ſoon ran into extremity of low-church meaſures; and although, in the houſe of commons, Mr. *Harley*, Sir *Simon Harcourt*, Mr. *St. John*, and ſome others, made great and bold ſtands in defence of the conſtitution, yet they were always borne down by a majority.

It was, I think, during this period of time, that the duke of *Marlborough*, whether by a motive of ambition, or a love of money, or by the raſh counſels of his wife the ducheſs, made that bold attempt of deſiring the queen to give him a commiſſion to be general for life. Her majeſty's anſwer was, That ſhe would take time to conſider of it; and, in the mean-while, the duke adviſed with the lord *Cowper*, then chancellor, about the form in which the commiſſion ſhould be drawn. The chancellor, very much to his honour, endeavoured to diſſuade the duke from engaging in ſo dangerous an affair; and proteſted he would never put the great ſeal to ſuch a commiſſion.

But the queen was highly alarmed at this extraordinary proceeding in the duke, and talked to a perſon whom ſhe had then taken into confidence, as if ſhe apprehended an attempt upon the crown. The duke of *Argyle*, and one or two more lords, were (as I have been told) in a very private manner brought to the queen. This duke was un-

der great obligations to the duke of *Marlborough*, who had placed him in a high ſtation in the army, preferred many of his friends, and procured him the garter. But, his unquiet and ambitious ſpirit, never eaſy while there was any one above him, made him, upon ſome trifling reſentments, conceive an inveterate hatred againſt his general. When he was conſulted what courſe ſhould be taken upon the duke of *Marlborough's* requeſt to be general for life; and whether any danger might be apprehended from the refuſal; I was told, he ſuddenly anſwered, That her majeſty need not be in pain; for he would undertake, whenever ſhe commanded, to ſeize the duke at the head of his troops, and bring him away either dead or alive.

About this time happened the famous trial of Dr. *Sacheverel*, which aroſe from a fooliſh paſſionate pique of the earl of *Godolphin*, whom this divine was ſuppoſed, in a ſermon, to have reflected on under the name of *Volpone*, as my lord *Sommers*, a few months after, confeſſed to me; and, at the ſame time, that he had earneſtly and in vain endeavoured, to diſſuade the earl from that attempt. However, the impeachment went on in the form and manner which every body knows, and therefore there need not be any thing ſaid of it here.

Mr. *Harley*, who came up to town during the time of the impeachment, was, by the intervention of Mrs. *Maſham*, privately brought to the queen, and, in ſome meetings,

ings, eaſily convinced her majeſty of the diſpoſitions of her people, as they appeared in the courſe of that trial in favour of the church, and againſt the meaſures of thoſe in her ſervice. It was not without a good deal of difficulty, that Mr. *Harley* was able to procure this private acceſs to the queen; the ducheſs of *Marlborough*, by her emiſſaries, watching all the avenues to the back-ſtairs, and upon all occaſions diſcovering their jealouſy of him; whereof he told me a paſſage, no otherways worth relating, than as it gives an idea of an inſolent, jealous miniſter, who would wholly engroſs the power and favour of his ſovereign. Mr. *Harley*, upon his removal from the ſecretary's office, by the intrigues of the duke of *Marlborough* and earl of *Godolphin*, as I have above related, going out of town, was met by the latter of theſe two lords near *Kenſington-gate*. The earl, in a high fit of jealouſy, goes immediately to the queen, reproaches her for privately ſeeing Mr. *Harley*, and was hardly ſo civil as to be convinced with her majeſty's frequent proteſtations to the contrary.

Theſe ſuſpicions, I ſay, made it hard for her majeſty and Mr. *Harley* to have private interviews; neither had he made uſe of the opportunities he met with to open himſelf ſo much to her, as ſhe ſeemed to expect, and deſired; although Mrs. *Maſham*, in right of her ſtation in the bed-chamber, had taken all proper occaſions of purſuing what Mr. *Harley* had begun. In this critical juncture,

ture, the queen, hemmed in, and as it were impriſoned, by the ducheſs of *Marlborough* and her creatures, was at a loſs how to proceed. One evening a letter was brought to Mr. *Harley*, all dirty, and by the hand of a very ordinary meſſenger; he read the ſuperſcription, and ſaw it was the queen's writing; he ſent for the meſſenger, who ſaid, he knew not whence the letter came, but that it was delivered him by an under-gardener, I forget whether of *Hampton-Court* or *Kenſington*. The letter mentioned the difficulties her majeſty was under, blaming him for not ſpeaking with more freedom, and more particularly; and deſiring his aſſiſtance. With this encouragement he went more frequently, although ſtill as private as poſſible, to the back-ſtairs; and from that time began to have entire credit with the queen. He then told her of the dangers to her crown, as well as to the church and monarchy itſelf, from the councils and actions of ſome of her ſervants: That ſhe ought gradually to leſſen the exorbitant power of the duke and ducheſs of *Marlborough*, and the earl of *Godolphin*, by taking the diſpoſition of employments into her own hands: That it did not become her to be a ſlave to a party; but to reward thoſe who may deſerve by their duty and loyalty, whether they were ſuch as were called of the *high-church* or *low-church*. In ſhort, whatever views he had then in his own breaſt, or, how far ſoever he intended to proceed, the

the turn of his whole diſcourſe was intended, in appearance, only to put the queen upon what they called a moderating ſcheme; which however made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion upon her, that when this miniſter, led by the neceſſity of affairs, the general diſpoſition of the people, and probably by his own inclinations, put her majeſty upon going greater lengths than ſhe had firſt intended, it put him upon innumerable difficulties, and ſome inſuperable; as we ſhall ſee in the progreſs of this change.

Her majeſty, purſuant to Mr. *Harley's* advice, reſolved to diſpoſe of the firſt great employment that fell, according to her own pleaſure, without conſulting any of her miniſters. To put this in execution, an opportunity ſoon happened by the death of the earl of *Eſſex*, whereby the lieutenantcy of the *Tower* became vacant. It was agreed between the queen and Mr. *Harley*, that the earl *Rivers* ſhould go immediately to the duke of *Marlborough*, and deſire his grace's good offices with the queen, to procure him that poſt. The earl went accordingly, was received with abundance of profeſſions of kindneſs by the duke, who ſaid the lieutenancy of the *Tower* was not worth his lordſhip's acceptance, and deſired him to think of ſomething elſe. The earl ſtill inſiſted, and the duke ſtill continued to put him off; at length lord *Rivers* deſired his grace's conſent to let him go himſelf and beg this favour of the queen, and hoped he might

might tell her majesty, his grace had no objection to him. All this the duke readily agreed to, as a matter of no consequence. The earl went to the queen, who immediately gave orders for his commission. He had not long left the queen's presence, when the duke of *Marlborough*, suspecting nothing that would happen, went to the queen, and told her, the lieutenancy of the *Tower* falling void by the death of the earl of *Essex*, he hoped her majesty would bestow it upon the duke of *Northumberland*, and give the *Oxford*-regiment, then commanded by that duke, to the earl of *Hertford*. The queen said, he was come too late; that she had already granted the lieutenancy to earl *Rivers*, who had told her that he [the duke] had no objection to him. The duke, much surprized at this new manner of treatment, and making complaints in her majesty's presence, was however forced to submit.

The queen went on by slow degrees. Not to mention some changes of lesser moment, the duke of *Kent* was forced to compound for his chamberlain's staff, which was given to the duke of *Shrewsbury*, while the earl of *Godolphin* was out of town, I think at *Newmarket*: His lordship, on the first news, came immediately up to court; but the thing was done, and he made as good a countenance to the duke of *Shrewsbury* as he was capable of. The circumstances of the earl of *Sunderland's* removal, and the reasons alledged, are known enough. His ungovern-

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able temper had overſwayed him to fail in his reſpects to her majeſty's perſon.

Mean-time both parties ſtood at gaze, not knowing to what theſe ſteps would lead, or where they would end. The earl of *Wharton*, then in *Ireland*, being deceived by various intelligence from hence, endeavoured to hide his uneaſineſs as well as he could. Some of his ſanguine correſpondents had ſent him word, that the queen began to ſtop her hand, and the church party to deſpond. At the ſame time, the duke of *Shrewſbury* happened to ſend him a letter filled with great expreſſions of civility: The earl was ſo weak, upon reading it, as to cry out, before two or three ſtanders-by, "Damn him, he is ma-"king fair weather with me; but, by G—d, "I will have his head."

But theſe ſhort hopes were ſoon blaſted, by taking the treaſurer's ſtaff from the earl of *Godolphin*; which was done in a manner not very gracious, her majeſty ſending him a letter, by a very ordinary meſſenger, commanding him to break it. The treaſury was immediately put into commiſſion, with earl *Powlet* at the head; but Mr. *Harley*, who was one of the number, and at the ſame time made chancellor of the exchequer, was already ſuppoſed to preſide behind the curtain.

Upon the fall of that great miniſter and favourite, that whole party became diſpirited, and ſeemed to expect the worſt that could follow. The earl of *Wharton* immediately deſired

deſired and obtained leave to come for *England*, leaving that kingdom, where he had behaved himſelf with the utmoſt profligateneſs, injuſtice, arbitrary proceedings, and corruption, with the hatred and deteſtation of all good men, even of his own party.

And here, becauſe my coming into the knowledge of the new miniſtry began about this time, I muſt digreſs a little, to relate ſome circumſtances previous to it.

Although I had been for many years before no ſtranger at court, and had made the nature of government a great part of my ſtudy, yet I had dealt very little with politics, either in writing or acting, until about a year before the late king *William's* death; when, returning with the earl of *Berkeley* from *Ireland*, and falling upon the ſubject of the five great lords, who were then impeached for high crimes and miſdemeanors, by the houſe of commons, I happened to ſay, that the ſame manner of proceeding, at leaſt as it appeared to me from the news we received of it in *Ireland*, had ruined the liberties of *Athens* and *Rome*, and that it might be eaſy to prove it from hiſtory. Soon after I went to *London*; and, in a few weeks, drew up a diſcourſe, under the title of, *The Conteſts and Diſſenſions of the Nobles and Commons in* Athens *and* Rome, *with the Conſequences they had upon both thoſe States*. This diſcourſe I ſent very privately to the preſs, with the ſtricteſt injunctions to conceal the author, and returned immediately to my reſidence in *Ireland*. The book

book was greedily bought, and read; and charged ſome time upon my lord *Sommers*, and ſome time upon the biſhop of *Saliſbury*; the latter of whom told me afterwards, that he was forced to diſown it in a very public manner, for fear of an impeachment wherewith he was threatened [*a*].

Returning next year for *England*, and hearing of the great approbation this piece had received (which was the firſt I ever printed [*b*]) I muſt confeſs, the vanity of a young man prevailed with me, to let myſelf be known for the author: Upon which my lords *Sommers* and *Halifax*, as well as the biſhop abovementioned, deſired my acquaintance, with great marks of eſteem and profeſſions of kindneſs: Not to mention the earl of *Sunderland*, who had been my old acquaintance. They lamented that they were not able to ſerve me

[*a*] Vide *Swift's* eſſay upon the life, writings, and character of Dr. *Jonathan Swift*, chap. vi. p. 121. where there is a droll, pleaſant dialogue, between Dr. *Swift* and biſhop *Sheridan*, relating to this famous tract.

[*b*] Meaning the firſt political piece he had ever printed: otherwiſe it is not true. For the Tale of a Tub, and the Battle of the Books, were printed in or about the year 1697. Or, perhaps, Doctor *Swift*, having not thought proper to acknowledge himſelf the author of thoſe pieces, imagined he had a right to ſay, this diſcourſe was the firſt he had ever printed; two or three poems, in the *Athenian* Oracle, which were printed when he was a very young man, being not worth his remembrance.

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ſince the death of the king, and were very liberal in promiſing me the greateſt preferments I could hope for, if ever it came in their power. I ſoon grew domeſtic with lord *Halifax*, and was as often with lord *Sommers*, as the formality of his nature (the only unconverſable fault he had) made it agreeable to me.

It was then I began to trouble myſelf with the difference between the principles of Whig and Tory; having formerly employed myſelf in other, and, I think, much better ſpeculations. I talked often upon this ſubject with lord *Sommers*; told him, that, having been long converſant with the *greek* and *roman* authors, and therefore a lover of liberty, I found myſelf much inclined to be what they called a Whig in politicks; and that, beſides, I thought it impoſſible, upon any other principle, to defend, or ſubmit to the Revolution: But, as to religion, I confeſſed myſelf to be an high-churchman, and that I did not conceive how any one, who wore the habit of a clergyman, could be otherwiſe: That I had obſerved very well with what inſolence and haughtineſs ſome lords of the high-church party treated not only their own chaplains, but all other clergymen whatſoever, and thought this was ſufficiently recompenſed by their profeſſions of zeal to the church: That I had likewiſe obſerved how the whig lords took a direct contrary meaſure, treated the perſons of particular clergymen with great courteſy, but ſhewed much ill-will and contempt

tempt for the order in general: That I knew it was neceſſary for their party to make their bottom as wide as they could, by taking all denominations of proteſtants to be members of their body: That I would not enter into the mutual reproaches made by the violent men on either ſide; but that the connivance, or encouragement, given by the whigs to thoſe writers of pamphlets, who reflected upon the whole body of the clergy without any exception, would unite the church, as one man, to oppoſe them: And, that I doubted his lordſhip's friends did not conſider the conſequence of this. My lord *Sommers*, in appearance, entered very warmly into the ſame opinion, and ſaid very much of the endeavours he had often uſed to redreſs that evil I complained of. This his lordſhip, as well as my lord *Hallifax* (to whom I have talked in the ſame manner), can very well remember: And I have indeed been told by an honourable gentleman of the ſame party, that both their lordſhips, about the time of lord *Godolphin's* removal, did upon occaſion call to mind what I had ſaid to them five years before.

In my journeys to *England*, I continued upon the ſame foot of acquaintance with the two lords laſt mentioned, until the time of prince *George's* death, when the queen, who, as is before related, had for ſome years favoured that party, now made lord *Sommers* preſident of the council, and the earl of *Wharton* lieutenant of *Ireland*. Being then in *London*, I re-

I received letters from ſome biſhops of *Ireland*, to ſollicit the earl of *Wharton* about the remittal of the firſt-fruits and tenths to the clergy there, which the queen had long promiſed, and wherein I had been employed before, with ſome hopes of ſucceſs from the earl of *Godolphin*. It was the firſt time I ever was in company with the earl of *Wharton*; he received me with ſufficient coldneſs, and anſwered the requeſt I made in behalf of the clergy with very poor and lame excuſes, which amounted to a refuſal. I complained of this uſage to lord *Sommers*, who would needs bring us together to his houſe, and preſent me to him; where he received me as drily as before.

It was every body's opinion, that the earl of *Wharton* would endeavour, when he went to *Ireland*, to take off the teſt, as a ſtep to have it taken off here: Upon which I drew up and printed a pamphlet, by way of a letter from a member of parliament here, ſhewing the danger to the church by ſuch an intent. Although I took all care to be private, yet the lieutenant's chaplain, and ſome others, gueſſed me to be the author, and told his excellency their ſuſpicions; whereupon I ſaw him no more until I went to *Ireland*. At my taking leave of lord *Sommers*, he deſired I would carry a letter from him to the earl of *Wharton*, which I abſolutely refuſed; yet he ordered it to be left at my lodgings. I ſtaid ſome months in *Leiceſterſhire*; went to *Ireland*;

land; and, immediately upon my landing, retired to my country-parish, without seeing the lieutenant, or any other person; resolving to send him lord *Sommers's* letter by the post. But, being called up to town, by the incessant entreaties of my friends, I went and delivered my letter, and immediately withdrew. During the greatest part of his government, I lived in the country, saw the lieutenant very seldom when I came to town, nor ever entered into the least degree of confidence with him, or his friends, except his secretary Mr. *Addison*, who had been my old and intimate acquaintance.

Upon the news of great changes here, he affected very much to caress me, which I understood well enough to have been an old practice with him, in order to render men odious to the church-party.

I mention these insignificant particulars, as it will be easily judged, for some reasons that are purely personal to myself; it having been objected by several of those poor pamphleteers, who have blotted so much paper to shew their malice against me, that I was a favourer of the low-party. Whereas it hath been manifest to all men, that, during the highest dominion of that faction, I had published several tracts in opposition to the measures then taken: For instance, *A Project for the Reformation of Manners, in a letter to the Countess of* Berkeley; *The Sentiments of a Church-of-*England-*man*; *An Argument against abolishing Christianity*; and, lastly, *A Letter*

in

to a Member of Parliament againſt taking off the Teſt in Ireland, which I have already mentioned to have been publiſhed at the time the earl of *Wharton* was ſetting out to his government of that kingdom. But thoſe who are loud and violent in coffee-houſes, although generally they do a cauſe more hurt than good, yet will ſeldom allow any other merit; and it is not to ſuch as theſe that I attempt to vindicate myſelf.

About the end of *Auguſt* 1710, I went for *England*, at the deſire, and by the appointment, of the archbiſhops and biſhops of that kingdom; under whoſe hands I had a commiſſion to ſolicit, in conjunction with two biſhops who were then in *London*, the firſt-fruits and twentieths to the clergy, which had been many years ſolicited in vain. Upon my arrival in town, I found the two biſhops were gone into the country; whereupon I got myſelf introduced to Mr. *Harley*, who was then chancellor of the exchequer, and acted as firſt miniſter. He received me with great kindneſs; told me, that he and his friends had long expected my arrival; and, upon ſhewing my commiſſion, immediately undertook to perform it, which he accordingly did in leſs than three weeks, having ſettled it at five meetings with the queen, according to a ſcheme I offered him, and got me the queen's promiſe for a further and more important favour to the clergy of *Ireland*; which the biſhops there, deceived by miſinformation, not worth

mentioning in this paper, prevented me from bringing to a good iſſue.

When the affair of the firſt-fruits was fully diſpatched, I returned my humble thanks to Mr. *Harley*, in the name of the clergy of *Ireland* and of my own, and offered to take my leave, as intending immediately to return to that kingdom. Mr. *Harley* told me, he and his friends knew very well what uſeful things I had written againſt the principles of the late diſcarded faction; and that my perſonal eſteem for ſeveral among them, would not make me a favourer of their cauſe: That there was now entirely a new ſcene: That the queen was reſolved to employ none but thoſe who were friends to the conſtitution of church and ſtate: That their great difficulty lay in the want of ſome good pen, to keep up the ſpirit raiſed in the people, to aſſert the principles, and juſtify the proceedings, of the new miniſters. *Upon that ſubject he fell into ſome perſonal civilities, which will not become me to repeat* [c]. He added, That this province was in the hands of ſeveral perſons, among whom ſome were too buſy, and others too idle to purſue it; and concluded, that it ſhould be his particular care, to eſtabliſh me here in *England*, and repreſent me to the queen as a perſon they could not be without.

[c] Theſe words printed in *Italicks* are in the original eraſed, perhaps to avoid the imputation of vanity.

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I promiſed to do my endeavours, in that way, for ſome few months; to which he replied, He expected no more; and that he had other and greater occaſions for me.

Upon the riſe of this miniſtry, the principal perſons in power thought it neceſſary, that ſome weekly paper ſhould be publiſhed, with juſt reflexions upon former proceedings, and defending the preſent meaſures of her majeſty. This was begun about the time of the Lord *Godolphin's* removal, under the title of *The Examiner*. About a dozen of theſe papers, written with much ſpirit and ſharpneſs, ſome by Mr. ſecretary *St. John*, ſince lord *Bolingbroke*; others by Dr. *Atterbury*, ſince biſhop of *Rocheſter*; and others again by Mr. *Prior*, Dr. *Freind*, &c. were publiſhed with great applauſe. But, theſe gentlemen being grown weary of the work, or otherways employed, the determination was, that I ſhould continue it, which I did accordingly about eight months. But, my ſtile being ſoon diſcovered, and having contracted a great number of enemies, I let it fall into other hands, who held it up in ſome manner until her majeſty's death.

It was Mr. *Harley's* cuſtom, every *Saturday*, to have four or five of his moſt intimate friends, among thoſe he had taken in upon the great change made at court, to dine at his houſe; and, after about two months acquaintance, I had the honour always to be one of the number. This company, at firſt, conſiſted only of the lord-keeper *Harcourt*,

the earl *Rivers*, the earl of *Peterborough*, Mr. ſecretary *St. John*, and myſelf: And here, after dinner, they uſed to diſcourſe, and ſettle matters of great importance. Several other lords were afterwards, by degrees, admitted; as, the dukes of *Ormond*, *Shrewſbury*, and *Argyle*; the earls of *A——y*, *Dartmouth*, and *P——t*; the lord *B——y*, &c. Theſe meetings were always continued, except when the queen was at *Windſor*; but, as they grew more numerous, became of leſs conſequence; and ended only in drinking and general converſation; of which I may, perhaps, have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter.

My early appearance at theſe meetings, which many thought to be of greater conſequence than really they were, could not be concealed, although I uſed all my endeavours to that purpoſe. This gave the occaſion to ſome great men, who thought me already in the ſecret, to complain to me of the ſuſpicions entertained by many of our friends in relation to Mr. *Harley*, even before he was lord treaſurer; ſo early were ſown thoſe ſeeds of diſcontent, which afterwards grew up ſo high. The cauſe of their complaint was, That ſo great a number of the adverſe party continued in employment; and ſome, particularly the duke of *Somerſet* and earl of *Cholmondely*, in great ſtations at court. They could not believe Mr. *Harley* was in earneſt; but that he deſigned to conſtitute a motly comprehenſive adminiſtration, which they ſaid the kingdom would never endure. I was

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once invited to a meeting of ſome lords and gentlemen, where theſe grievances were at large related to me, with an earneſt deſire that I would repreſent them in the moſt reſpectful manner to Mr. *Harley*, upon a ſuppoſition that I was in high credit with him. I excuſed myſelf from ſuch an office, upon the newneſs of my acquaintance with Mr. *Harley*; however, I repreſented the matter fairly to him; againſt which he argued a good deal, from the general reaſons of politicians; the neceſſity of keeping men in hopes, the danger of diſobliging thoſe who muſt remain unprovided for, and the like uſual topicks among ſtateſmen. But there was a ſecret in this matter, which neither I, nor indeed any of his moſt intimate friends, were then appriſed of; neither did he, at that time, enter with me further than to aſſure me very ſolemnly, That no perſon ſhould have the ſmalleſt employment, either civil or military, whoſe principles were not firm for the church and monarchy.

However, theſe over-moderate proceedings in the court gave riſe to a party in the houſe of commons, which appeared under the name of the *October-club*; a fantaſtic appellation, found out to diſtinguiſh a number of country gentlemen and their adherents, who profeſſed in the greateſt degree what was called the *high-church* principle. They grew in number to almoſt a third part of the houſe, held their meetings at certain times and

places, and there concerted what measures they were to take in parliament. They professed their jealousy of the court and ministry; declared, upon all occasions, their desire of a more general change, as well as of a strict enquiry into former mismanagement; and seemed to expect, that those in power should openly avow the old principles in church and state. I was then of opinion, and still continue so, that, if this body of men could have remained some time united, they would have put the crown under a necessity of acting in a more steady and strenuous manner. But Mr. *Harley*, who best knew the disposition of the queen, was forced to break their measures; which he did by that very obvious contrivance of dividing them among themselves, and rendering them jealous of each other. The ministers gave every where out, that the *October-club* were their friends, and acted by their directions; to confirm which, Mr. secretary *St. John* and Mr. *B*——, afterwards chancellor of the exchequer, publicly dined with them at one of their meetings. Thus were eluded all the consequences of that assembly; although a remnant of them, who conceived themselves betrayed by the rest, did afterwards meet under the denomination of the *March-club*, but without any effect.

The parliament, which then rose, had been chosen without any endeavours from the court, to secure elections; neither, as I remember, were any of the lieutenantcies chang-

ed throughout the kingdom. For, the trial of Dr. *Sacheverel* had raiſed, or diſcovered, ſuch a ſpirit in all parts, that the miniſters could very ſafely leave the electors to themſelves, and thereby gain a reputation of acting by a free parliament. Yet this proceeding was, by ſome refiners of both parties, numbered among the ſtrains of Mr. *Harley's* politicks, who was ſaid to avoid an over-great majority, which is apt to be unruly, and not enough under the management of a miniſtry. But, from the ſmall experience I have of courts, I have ever found refinements to be the worſt ſort of all conjectures; and, from this one occaſion, I take leave to obſerve, That of ſome hundreds of facts, for the real truth of which I can account, I never yet knew any refiner to be once in the right. I have already told, that the true reaſon why the court did not interpoſe in matter of elections was, becauſe they thought themſelves ſure of a majority, and therefore could acquire reputation at a cheap rate. Beſides, it afterwards appeared upon ſome exigencies, which the court had much at heart, that they were more than once like to fail for want of numbers. Mr. *Harley*, in order to give credit to his adminiſtration, reſolved upon two very important points; firſt, to ſecure the unprovided debts of the nation; and, ſecondly, to put an end to the war. Of the methods he took to compaſs both thoſe ends, I have treated at large in another work: I ſhall only obſerve, that, while he was preparing

paring to open to the houſe of commons his ſcheme for ſecuring the public debts, he was ſtabbed by the marquis *de Guiſcard*, while he was ſitting in the council-chamber at the *Cock-pit*, with a committee of nine or ten lords of the cabinet, met on purpoſe to examine the marquis upon a diſcovery of a treaſonable correſpondence he held with *France*.

This fact was ſo uncommon in the manner and circumſtances of it, that, although it be pretty well known at the time I am now writing, by a printed account, toward which I furniſhed the author with ſome materials, yet I thought it would not be proper wholly to omit it here. The aſſaſſin was ſeized, by Mr. *Harley's* order, upon the eighth of *March* 1710-11; and, brought before the committee of lords, was examined about his correſponding with *France*: Upon his denial, Mr. *Harley* produced a letter, which he could not deny to be his own hand. The marquis, prepared for miſchief, had conveyed a penknife into his pocket, while the meſſenger kept him attending in one of the offices below. Upon the ſurprize of his letter appearing againſt him, he came ſuddenly behind Mr. *Harley*, and, reaching his arm round, ſtabbed that miniſter into the middle of the breaſt, about a quarter of an inch above the *cartilago enſiformis*; the penknife ſtriking upon the bone, and otherwiſe obſtructed by a thick embroidered waiſtcoat, broke ſhort at the handle, which *Guiſcard* ſtill

ſtill graſped, and redoubled his blow. The confuſion upon this accident is eaſier conceived than deſcribed: The reſult was, that the marquis, whether by the wounds given him by ſome of the lords, or the bruiſes he received from the meſſengers while they were ſeizing him, or the neglect of his ſurgeon; or, that being unwilling to live, he induſtriouſly concealed one of his wounds; died in a few days after. But Mr. *Harley*, after a long illneſs and frequent ill-ſymptoms, had the good fortune to recover.

Guiſcard was the younger brother of the count of that name, a very honourable and worthy perſon, formerly governor of *Namur*. But this marquis was a reproach to his family, proſtitute in his morals, impious in religion, and a traitor to his prince: As to the reſt, of a very poor underſtanding, and the moſt tedious, trifling talker, I ever converſed with. He was grown needy by ſquandering upon his vices, was become contemptible both here and in *Holland*, his regiment taken from him, and his penſion retrenched; the deſpair of which firſt put him upon his *French* correſpondence; and the diſcovery of that drove him into madneſs. I had known him ſome years; and, meeting him upon the *Mall* a few hours before his examination, I obſerved to a friend then with me, that I wondered to ſee *Guiſcard* paſs ſo often by without taking notice of me. But although, in the latter part of his life, his countenance grew cloudy

cloudy enough, yet I confeſs I never ſuſpected him to be a man of reſolution, or courage, ſufficient to bear him out in ſo deſperate an attempt.

I have ſome very good reaſons to know, that the firſt miſunderſtanding between Mr. *Harley* and Mr. *St. John*, which afterwards had ſuch unhappy conſequences upon the publick affairs, took it's riſe during the time that the former lay ill of his wounds, and his recovery doubtful. Mr. *St. John* affected to ſay in ſeveral companies, that *Guiſcard* intended the blow againſt him; which, if it were true, the conſequence muſt be, that Mr. *St. John* had all the merit, while Mr. *Harley* remained with nothing but the danger and the pain. But, I am apt to think, Mr. *St. John* was either miſtaken, or miſinformed: However, the matter was thus repreſented in the weekly paper called *The Examiner*, which Mr. *St. John* peruſed before it was printed, but made no alteration in that paſſage.

This management was looked upon, at leaſt, as a piece of youthful indiſcretion in Mr. *St. John*; and, perhaps, was repreſented in a worſe view to Mr. *Harley*: Neither am I altogether ſure, that Mr. *St. John* did not entertain ſome proſpect of ſucceeding as firſt miniſter, in caſe of Mr. *Harley's* death; which, during his illneſs, was frequently apprehended. And, I remember very well, that, upon viſiting Mr. *Harley*, as ſoon as he was in a condition to be ſeen, I found ſeveral of

of his neareſt relations talk very freely of ſome proceedings of Mr. *St. John*; enough to make me apprehend, that their friendſhip would not be of any long continuance.

Mr. *Harley*, ſoon after his recovery, was made an earl, and lord treaſurer; and lord keeper, a baron.

PREFACE.

PREFACE

TO THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Four laſt Years of Queen *Anne*'s Reign.

HAVING written the following Hiſtory at *Windſor*, in the happy reign of her majeſty queen *Anne*, of ever glorious, bleſſed, and immortal memory; I reſolved to publiſh it, for the ſatisfaction of my fellow-ſubjects, in the year 1713; but being under a neceſſity of going to *Ireland*, to take poſſeſſion of the Deanry of *St. Patrick's*, *Dublin*, I left the original with the miniſters; and having ſtaid in that kingdom not above a fortnight, I found at my return, that my lord treaſurer *Oxford*, and the ſecretary my lord *Bolingbroke*, who were then unhappily upon very ill terms with each other, could not agree upon publiſhing it, without ſome alterations which I would not ſubmit to. Whereupon I kept it by me until her majeſty's death, which happened about a year after.

I have

I have ever ſince preſerved the original very ſafely; too well knowing what a turn the world would take upon the *German* family's ſucceeding to the crown; which indeed was their undoubted right, having been eſtabliſhed ſolemnly by the act of an undiſputed parliament, brought into the houſe of commons by Mr. *Harley*, who was then ſpeaker.

But, as I have ſaid in another diſcourſe, it was very well underſtood, ſome years before her majeſty's death, how the new king would act immediately upon his entrance in the choice of thoſe (and thoſe alone) whom he reſolved to truſt; and conſequently what reports would induſtriouſly be raiſed, as well as ſpread, to expoſe the proceedings of her majeſty herſelf, as well as of her ſervants; who have been ever ſince blaſted as enemies to the preſent eſtabliſhment, by the moſt ignorant and malicious among mankind.

Therefore, as it was my lot to have been daily converſant with the perſons then in power; never abſent in times of buſineſs or converſation, until a few weeks before her majeſty's death; and a witneſs of almoſt every ſtep they made in the courſe of their adminiſtration; I muſt have been very unfortunate not to be better informed than thoſe miſerable pamphleteers, or their patrons, could pretend to. At the ſame time, I freely confeſs, it appeared neceſſary, as well as natural, upon ſuch a mighty change as the death of a ſovereign, that thoſe who were to be in power upon the ſucceſſion, and reſolved to

act in every part by a direct contrary ſyſtem of politics, ſhould load their predeceſſors with as much infamy as the moſt inveterate malice and envy could ſuggeſt, or the moſt ſtupid ignorance and credulity in their underlings could ſwallow.

Therefore, as I pretend to write with the utmoſt impartiality the following Hiſtory of the four laſt years of her majeſty's reign, in order to undeceive prejudiced perſons at preſent, as well as poſterity; I am perſuaded in my own mind, as likewiſe by the advice of my oldeſt and wiſeſt friends, that I am doing my duty to God and man, by endeavouring to ſet future ages right in their judgment of that happy reign; and, as a faithful hiſtorian, I cannot ſuffer falſehoods to run on any longer, not only againſt all appearance of truth as well as probability, but even againſt thoſe happy events, which owe their ſucceſs to the very meaſures then fixed in the general peace.

The materials for this Hiſtory, beſides what I have already mentioned, I mean the confidence repoſed in me for thoſe four years by the chief perſons in power, were extracted out of many hundred letters written by our ambaſſadors abroad, and from the anſwers as well as inſtructions ſent them by our ſecretaries of ſtates, or by the firſt miniſter the earl of *Oxford*. The former were all originals, and the latter copies entered into books in the ſecretaries office, out of both which I collected all that I thought convenient; not to mention ſeveral memorials given me by

by the miniſters at home. Further, I was a conſtant witneſs and obſerver of all that paſſed, and entered every particular of any conſequence upon paper.

I was ſo far from having any obligation to the crown, that, on the contrary, her majeſty iſſued a proclamation, offering 300 *l.* to any perſon who would diſcover the author of a certain ſhort treatiſe [*d*], which the queen well knew to have been written by me. I never received one ſhilling from the miniſter, or any other preſent, except that of a few books; nor did I want their aſſiſtance to ſupport me. I very often dined indeed with the treaſurer and ſecretary; but, in thoſe days, that was not reckoned a bribe, whatever it may have been at any time ſince. I abſolutely refuſed to be chaplain to the lord treaſurer; becauſe I thought it would ill become me to be in a ſtate of dependence.

I ſay this to ſhew, that I had no other bias than my own opinion of perſons and affairs. I preſerved ſeveral of the oppoſite party in their employments, who were perſons of wit and learning, particularly Mr. *Addiſon* and Mr. *Congreve*, neither of whom were ever in any danger from the treaſurer, who much eſteemed them both; and, by his lordſhip's commands, I brought the latter to dine with him. Mr. *Steele* might have been ſafe enough, if his continually repeat-

[*d*] Public Spirit of the Whigs.

ed indiſcretions, and a zeal mingled with ſcurrilities, had not forfeited all title to lenity.

I know very well the numberleſs prejudices of weak and deceived people, as well as the malice of thoſe, who, to ſerve their own intereſt or ambition, have caſt off all religion, morality, juſtice, and common decency. However, although perhaps I may not be believed in the preſent age, yet I hope to be ſo in the next, by all who will bear any regard for the honour and liberty of *England*, if either of theſe ſhall then ſubſiſt or not.

I have no intereſt or inclination to palliate the miſtakes, or omiſſions, or want of ſteadineſs, or unhappy miſunderſtandings, among a few of thoſe who then preſided in affairs.

Nothing is more common than the virulence of ſuperficial and ill-informed writers, againſt the conduct of thoſe who are now called prime miniſters: And, ſince factions appear at preſent to be at a greater height than in any former times, although, perhaps, not ſo equally poiſed; it may probably concern thoſe who are now in their height, if they have any regard for their own memories in future ages, to be leſs warm againſt others who humbly differ from them in ſome ſtate opinions. Old perſons remember, at leaſt by tradition, the horrible prejudices that prevailed againſt the firſt earl of *Clarendon*, whoſe character, as it now ſtands, might

might be a pattern for all miniſters; although even biſhop *Burnet* of *Sarum*, whoſe principles, veracity, and manner of writing, are ſo little eſteemed upon many accounts, hath been at the pains to vindicate him.

Upon that irreparable breach between the treaſurer and ſecretary *Bolingbroke*, after my utmoſt endeavours, for above two years, to reconcile them, I retired to a friend in *Berkſhire*, where I ſtaid until her majeſty's death; and then immediately returned to my ſtation in *Dublin*, where I continued about twelve years without once ſeeing *England*. I there often reviewed the following Memoirs; neither changing nor adding, further than by correcting the ſtyle: And, if I have been guilty of any miſtakes, they muſt be of ſmall moment; for it was hardly poſſible I could be wrong informed, with all the advantages I have already mentioned.

I ſhall not be very uneaſy under the obloquy that may, perhaps, be caſt upon me by the violent leaders and followers of the preſent prevailing party. And, yet, I cannot find the leaſt inconſiſtence with conſcience or honour, upon the death of ſo excellent a princeſs as her late majeſty, for a wiſe and good man to ſubmit, with a true and loyal heart, to her lawful Proteſtant ſucceſſor; whoſe hereditary title was confirmed by the queen and both houſes of parliament, with the greateſt unanimity, after it had been made an article in the treaty, that every

prince in our alliance ſhould be a guarantee of that ſucceſſion. Nay, I will venture to go one ſtep farther; that, if the negotiators of that peace had been choſen out of the moſt profeſſed zealots for the intereſts of the *Hanover* family, they could not have bound up the *French* king, or the *Hollanders*, more ſtrictly than the queen's plenipotentiaries did in confirming the preſent ſucceſſion; which was in them ſo much a greater mark of virtue and loyalty, becauſe they perfectly well knew, that they ſhould never receive the leaſt mark of favour, when the ſucceſſion had taken place.

AN

AN
ENQUIRY
Into the BEHAVIOUR of the
QUEEN'S LAST MINISTRY,
With relation to their
QUARRELS among themſelves, and the deſign charged upon them of altering the Succeſſion of the Crown.

JUNE MDCCXV.

SINCE the death of the Queen, it was reaſonable enough for me to conclude that I had done with all public affairs and ſpeculations: beſides, the ſcene and ſtation I am in have reduced my thoughts into a narrow compaſs: and being wholly excluded from any view of favour under the preſent adminiſtration, upon that invincible reaſon of having been in ſome degree of truſt and confidence with the former, I have not found the tranſition very difficult into a private life, for which I am better qualified both by nature and education.

The reading of, and enquiring after, news not being one of my diverſions, having al-

ways diſliked a mixed and general converſation, which, however it fell to my lot, is now in my power to avoid; and being placed, by the duties of my function, at a great diſtance from the ſeat of buſineſs; I am altogether ignorant of many common events which happen in the world: only, from the little I know and hear, it is manifeſt that the hearts of moſt men are filled with doubts, fears, and jealouſies, or elſe with hatred and rage, to a degree that there ſeems to be an end of all amicable commerce between people of different parties; and what the conſequences of this may be, let thoſe conſider who have contributed to the cauſes; which, I thank God, is no concern of mine.

There are two points, with reference to the conduct of the late miniſtry, much inſiſted on, and little underſtood by thoſe who write or talk upon that ſubject; wherein I am ſufficiently qualified to give ſatisfaction; and would gladly do it, becauſe I ſee very much weight laid upon each, and moſt mens opinions of perſons and things regulated accordingly.

About two months before the queen's death, having loſt all hopes of any reconcilement between the treaſurer and the reſt of the miniſtry, I retired into the country, to await the iſſue of that conflict, which ended, as every one had reaſon to foreſee, in the earl of *Oxford's* diſgrace; to whom the lord *Bolingbroke* immediately ſucceeded as firſt miniſter: and I was told, that an earl-

dom

dom and the garter were intended for him in a fortnight, and the treaſurer's ſtaff againſt the next ſeſſion of parliament; of which I can ſay nothing certain, being then in *Berkſhire*, and receiving this account from ſome of his friends; but all theſe ſchemes became ſoon abortive, by the death of the queen, which happened in three days after the earl of *Oxford's* removal.

Upon this great event, I took the firſt opportunity of withdrawing to my place of reſidence; and rejoiced as much as any man for his majeſty's quiet acceſſion to the throne, to which I then thought, and it has ſince appeared indiſputable, that the peace procured by the late miniſtry had, among other good effects, been highly inſtrumental. And, I thank God, I have been ever ſince a loyal humble ſpectator, during all the changes that have happened, although it were no ſecret to any man of common ſagacity, that his preſent majeſty's choice of his ſervants, whenever he ſhould happen to ſucceed, would be determined to thoſe who moſt oppoſed the proceedings during the four laſt years of his predeceſſor's reign: and, I think, there hath not ſince happened one particular of any moment, which the miniſters did not often mention at their tables, as what they certainly expected, from the diſpoſitions of the court at *Hanover* in conjunction with the party at home, which, upon all occaſions, publicly diſapproved their proceed-

ings, excepting only the attainder of the duke of *Ormond*; which, indeed, neither they, nor I, nor, I believe, any one perſon in the three kingdoms, did ever pretend to foreſee; and, now it is done, it looks like a dream to thoſe, who conſider the nobleneſs of his birth, the great merits of his anceſtors, and his own; his long unſpotted loyalty, his affability, generoſity, and ſweetneſs of nature. I knew him long and well, and, excepting the frailties of his youth, which had been for ſome years over, and that eaſineſs of temper which did ſometimes lead him to follow the judgment of thoſe who had, by many degrees, leſs underſtanding than himſelf, I have not converſed with a more faultleſs perſon; of great juſtice and charity; a true ſenſe of religion, without oſtentation; of undoubted valour, thoroughly ſkilled in his trade of a ſoldier; a quick and ready apprehenſion, with a good ſhare of underſtanding, and a general knowledge in men and hiſtory; although under ſome diſadvantage by an invincible modeſty, which however could not but render him yet more amiable to thoſe who had the honnour and happineſs of being thoroughly acquainted with him. This is a ſhort imperfect character of that great perſon the duke of *Ormond*, who is now attainted for high treaſon; and, therefore, I ſhall not preſume to offer one ſyllable in his vindication, upon that head, againſt the deciſion of a par-

a parliament. Yet this, I think, may be allowed me to believe, or at leaſt to hope, that when, by the direct and repeated commands of the queen, his miſtreſs, he committed thoſe faults for which he hath now forfeited his country, his titles, and his fortune; he no more conceived himſelf to be acting high-treaſon, than he did when he was wounded and a priſoner at *London*, for his ſovereign king *William*, or when he took and burned the enemy's fleet at *Vigo*.

Upon this occaſion, although I am ſenſible it is an old precept of wiſdom to admire at nothing in human life, yet I conſider, at the ſame time, how eaſily ſome men arrive at the practice of this maxim, by the help of plain ſtupidity or ill-nature, without any ſtrain of philoſophy; and, although the uncertainty of human things be one of the moſt obvious reflexions in morality, yet, ſuch unexpected, ſudden, and ſignal inſtances of it, as have lately happened among us, are ſo much out of the uſual form, that a wiſe man may, perhaps, be allowed to ſtart and look aſide, as at a ſudden and violent clap of thunder, which is much more frequent, and more natural.

And here I cannot but lament my own particular misfortune; who, having ſingled out three perſons from among the reſt of mankind, on whoſe friendſhip and protection I might depend, whoſe converſation I moſt valued, and chiefly confined myſelf to,

ſhould live to ſee them all, within the compaſs of a year, accuſed of high-treaſon; two of them attainted and in exile, and the third under his trial, whereof God knows what may be the iſſue. As my own heart was free from all treaſonable thoughts, ſo I did little imagine myſelf to be perpetually in the company of traitors. But *the faſhion of this world paſſeth away*. Having already ſaid ſomething of the duke of *Ormond*, I ſhall add a little towards the characters of the other two. It happens to very few men, in any age or country, to come into the world with ſo many advantages of nature and fortune, as the late ſecretary *Bolingbroke*: deſcended from the beſt families in *England*, heir to a great patrimonial eſtate, of a ſound conſtitution, and a moſt graceful, amiable perſon: but all theſe, had they been of equal value, were infinitely below, in degree, to the accompliſhments of his mind, which was adorned with the choiceſt gifts that God hath yet thought fit to beſtow upon the children of men; a ſtrong memory, a clear judgment, a vaſt range of wit and fancy, a thorough comprehenſion, an invincible eloquence, with a moſt agreeable elocution. He had well cultivated all theſe talents by travel and ſtudy, the latter of which he ſeldom omitted, even in the midſt of his pleaſures, of which he had indeed been too great and criminal a purſuer: for, although he was perſuaded to leave off intemperance in wine, which he did for

for ſome time to ſuch a degree that he ſeemed rather abſtemious; yet he was ſaid to allow himſelf other liberties, which can by no means be reconciled to religion or morals; whereof, I have reaſon to believe, he began to be ſenſible. But he was fond of mixing pleaſure and buſineſs, and of being eſteemed excellent at both; upon which account, he had a great reſpect for the characters of *Alcibiades* and *Petronius*, eſpecially the latter, whom he would gladly be thought to reſemble. His detractors charged him with ſome degree of affectation, and, perhaps, not altogether without grounds; ſince it was hardly poſſible for a young man, with half the buſineſs of the nation upon him and the applauſe of the whole, to eſcape ſome tincture of that infirmity. He had been early bred to buſineſs, was a moſt artful negotiator, and perfectly underſtood foreign affairs. But what I have often wondered at in a man of his temper was, his prodigious application, whenever he thought it neceſſary; for he would plod whole days and nights, like the loweſt clerk in an office. His talent of ſpeaking in public, for which he was ſo very much celebrated, I know nothing of, except from the informations of others; but underſtanding men, of both parties, have aſſured me, that, in this point, in their memory and judgment, he was never equalled.

The earl of *Oxford* is a perſon of as much virtue, as can poſſibly conſiſt with the love of power; and his love of power is no greater

greater than what is common to men of his ſuperior capacities; neither did any man ever appear to value it leſs after he had obtained it, or exert it with more moderation. He is the only inſtance, that ever fell within my memory or obſervation, of a perſon paſſing from a private life, through the ſeveral ſtages of greatneſs, without any perceivable impreſſion upon his temper or behaviour. As his own birth was illuſtrious, being deſcended from the heirs-general of the *Veres* and the *Mortimers*, ſo he ſeemed to value that accidental advantage in himſelf, and others, more than it could pretend to deſerve. He abounded in good-nature and good humour; although ſubject to paſſion, as I have heard it affirmed by others, and owned by himſelf; which, however, he kept under the ſtricteſt government, till towards the end of his miniſtry, when he began to grow ſoured, and to ſuſpect his friends; and, perhaps, thought it not worth his pains to manage any longer. He was a great favourer of men of wit and learning, particularly the former, whom he careſſed without diſtinction of party, and could not endure to think that any of them ſhould be his enemies; and it was his good fortune that none of them ever appeared to be ſo; at leaſt, if one may judge by the libels and pamphlets publiſhed againſt him, which he frequently read, by way of amuſement, with a moſt unaffected indifference: neither do I remember ever to have endangered his good opinion ſo much, as by appearing uneaſy

eaſy when the dealers in that kind of writing firſt began to pour out their ſcurrilities againſt me; which, he thought, was a weakneſs altogether inexcuſable in a man of virtue and liberal education. He had the greateſt variety of knowledge that I have any where met; was a perfect maſter of the learned languages, and well ſkilled in divinity. He had a prodigious memory, and a moſt exact judgment. In drawing up any ſtate-paper, no man had more proper thoughts, or put them in ſo ſtrong and clear a light. Although his ſtyle were not always correct, which, however, he knew how to mend; yet, often, to ſave time, he would leave the ſmaller alterations to others. I have heard that he ſpoke but ſeldom in parliament, and then rather with art than eloquence: but no man equalled him in the knowledge of our conſtitution; the reputation whereof made him be choſen ſpeaker to three ſucceſſive parliaments; which office I have often heard his enemies allow him to have executed with univerſal applauſe: his ſagacity was ſuch, that I could produce very amazing inſtances of it, if they were not unſeaſonable. In all difficulties, he immediately found the true point that was to be purſued, and adhered to it: and one or two others in the miniſtry have confeſſed very often to me, that, after having condemned his opinion, they found him in the right, and themſelves in the wrong. He was utterly a ſtranger to fear; and, conſequently,

ſequently, had a preſence of mind upon all emergencies. His liberality, and contempt of money, were ſuch, that he almoſt ruined his eſtate while he was in employment; yet his avarice for the public was ſo great, that it neither conſiſted with the preſent corruptions of the age, nor the circumſtances of the time. He was ſeldom miſtaken in his judgment of men, and therefore not apt to change a good or ill opinion by the repreſentation of others; except toward the end of his miniſtry. He was affable and courteous, extremely eaſy and agreeable in converſation, and altogether diſengaged; regular in his life, with great appearance of piety; nor ever guilty of any expreſſions that could poſſibly tend to what was indecent or prophane. His imperfections were, at leaſt, as obvious, although not ſo numerous, as his virtues. He had an air of ſecrecy in his manner and countenance, by no means proper for a great miniſter, becauſe it warns all men to prepare againſt it. He often gave no anſwer at all, and very ſeldom a direct one: and I the rather blame this reſervedneſs of temper, becauſe I have known a very different practice ſucceed much better: of which, among others, the late earl of *Sunderland*, and the preſent lord *Sommers*, perſons of great abilities, are remarkable inſtances; who uſed to talk in ſo frank a manner, that they ſeemed to diſcover the bottom of their hearts, and, by that appearance of confidence, would eaſi-

ly

ly unlock the breaſts of others. But the earl of *Oxford* pleads, in excuſe of this charge, that he hath ſeldom or never communicated any thing which was of importance to be concealed, wherein he hath not been deceived by the vanity, treachery, or indiſcretion of thoſe he diſcovered it to. Another of his imperfections, univerſally known and complained of, was procraſtination, or delay; which was, doubtleſs, natural to him, although he often bore the blame without the guilt, and when the remedy was not in his power; for never were prince and miniſter better matched than his ſovereign and he, upon that article: and, therefore, in the diſpoſal of employments, wherein the queen was very abſolute, a year would often paſs before they could come to a determination. I remember he was likewiſe heavily charged with the common court vice, of promiſing very liberally, and ſeldom performing; of which, although I cannot altogether acquit him, yet, I am confident, his intentions were generally better than his diſappointed ſollicitors would believe. It may be likewiſe ſaid of him, that he certainly did not value, or did not underſtand the art of acquiring, friends; having made very few during the time of his power, and contracted a great number of enemies. Some of us uſed to obſerve, that thoſe whom he talked well of, or ſuffered to be often near him, were not in a ſituation of much advantage; and that his mention-

mentioning others with contempt, or diſlike, was no hindrance at all to their preferment. I have dwelt the longer upon this great man's character, becauſe I have obſerved it ſo often miſtaken by the wiſe reaſoners of both parties: beſides, having had the honour, for almoſt four years, of a nearer acquaintance with him than uſually happens to men of my level, and this without the leaſt mercenary obligation, I thought it lay in my power, as I am ſure it is in my will, to repreſent him to the world with impartiality and truth.

Having often conſidered the qualities and diſpoſitions of theſe two miniſters, I am at a loſs to think how it ſhould come to paſs that men of exalted abilities, when they are called to public affairs, are generally drawn into inconveniences and misfortunes, which others, of ordinary talents, avoid; whereof there appear ſo many examples, both antient and modern, and of our own as well as other countries. I cannot think this to have been altogether the effect of envy, as it is uſually imputed in the caſes of *Themiſtocles*, *Ariſtides*, *Scipio*, and others; and of ſir *Walter Raleigh*, the earls of *Clarendon* and *Stafford*, here in *England*. But I look upon it, that God, intending the government of a nation in the ſeveral branches and ſubordinations of power, hath made the ſcience of governing ſufficiently obvious to common capacities; otherwiſe the world would be left in a deſolate condition,

tion, if great affairs did always require a great genius, whereof the moſt fruitful age will hardly produce above three or four in a nation, among which, princes, who, of all other mortals, are the worſt educated, have twenty millions to one againſt them that they ſhall not be of the number; and proportionable odds, for the ſame reaſons, are againſt every one of noble birth, or great eſtates. Accordingly we find, that the dulleſt nations, antient and modern, have not wanted good rules of policy, or perſons qualified for adminiſtration. But I take the infelicity of ſuch extraordinary men to have been cauſed by their neglect of common forms, together with the contempt of *little helps* and *little hindrances*; which is made, by *Hobbes*, the definition of magnanimity: and this contempt, as it certainly diſpleaſes the people in general, ſo it giveth offence to all with whom ſuch miniſters have to deal: for I never yet knew a miniſter, who was not earneſtly deſirous to have it thought, that the art of government was a moſt profound ſcience; whereas it requires no more, in reality, than diligence, honeſty, and a moderate ſhare of plain natural ſenſe. And, therefore, men thus qualified may, very *reaſonably* and juſtly, think that the buſineſs of the world is beſt brought about by regularity and forms, wherein themſelves excel. For I have frequently obſerved more cauſes of diſcontent ariſe from the practice of ſome refined miniſters, to act in common buſineſs, out of

of the common road, than from all the uſual topics of diſpleaſure againſt men in power. It is the ſame thing in other ſcenes of life, and among all ſocieties or communities; where no men are better truſted, or have more ſucceſs in buſineſs, than thoſe who, with ſome honeſty and a moderate portion of underſtanding, are ſtrict obſervers of time, place, and method: and, on the contrary, nothing is more apt to expoſe men to the cenſure and obloquy of their collegues and the public, than a contempt or neglect of theſe circumſtances, however attended with a ſuperior genius, and an equal deſire of doing good: which hath made me ſometimes ſay, to a great perſon of this latter character [*e*], that a ſmall infuſion of the *alderman* was neceſſary to thoſe who are employed in public affairs. Upon this occaſion, I cannot forget a very trifling inſtance: that one day obſerving the ſame perſon to divide a ſheet of paper with a penknife, that ſharpneſs of the inſtrument occaſioned it's moving ſo irregularly and crooked, that he ſpoiled the whole ſheet; whereupon I adviſed him to take example by his clerks, who performed that operation much better with a blunt piece of ivory, which, directed by a little ſtrength and a ſteady hand, never failed to go right.

But, to return from this long digreſſion: about a fortnight after the queen's death, I

[*e*] Lord *Bolingbroke*.

came

came to my place of reſidence, where I was immediately attacked with heat enough by ſeveral of my acquaintance of both parties; and ſoon learned, that what they objected was the general ſenſe of the reſt. Thoſe of the church-ſide made me a thouſand reproaches upon the ſlowneſs and inactivity of my friends, upon their fooliſh quarrels with each other, for no viſible cauſe, and thereby ſacrificing the intereſts of the church and kingdom to their private piques: and that they had neglected to cultivate the favour and good-opinion of the court at *Hanover*. But the weight of theſe gentlemens diſpleaſure fell upon the earl of *Oxford*; that he had acted a trimming part; was never thoroughly in the intereſt of the church, but held ſeparate commerce with the adverſe party: that, either from his negligence, procraſtinating nature, or ſome ſiniſter end, he had let ſlip many opportunities of ſtrengthening the church's friends: that he undertook more buſineſs than he was equal to, affected a monopoly of power, and would concert nothing with the reſt of the miniſters. Many facts were likewiſe mentioned, which it may not now be very prudent to repeat: I ſhall only take notice of one, relating to *Ireland*, where he kept four biſhopricks undiſpoſed of, though often and moſt earneſtly preſſed to have them filled; by which omiſſion, the church-intereſt of that kingdom, in the houſe of lords, is in danger of being irrecoverably loſt.

Thoſe

Thoſe who diſcourſed with me after this manner, did, at the ſame time, utterly renounce all regard for the pretender; and mentioned, with pleaſure, the glorious opportunity, then in his majeſty's hands, of putting an end to party-diſtinctions for the time to come: and the only apprehenſion that ſeemed to give them any uneaſineſs was, leſt the zeal of the party in power might not, perhaps, repreſent their loyalty with advantage.

On the other ſide, the gainers and men in hopes by the queen's death talked with great freedom in a very different ſtile: they all directly aſſerted, that the whole late miniſtry were fully determined to bring in the pretender, although they would ſometimes a little demur upon the earl of *Oxford*; and, by a more modern amendment, they charged the ſame accuſation, without any reſerve, upon the late queen herſelf. That, if her majeſty had died but a month later, our ruin would have been inevitable. But in that juncture it happened (to uſe their own term, which I could never prevail with them to explain), *things were not ripe*. That this accuſation would, in a ſhort time, infallibly be proved as clear as the ſun at noon-day to all the world: and the conſequences naturally following from theſe poſitions were, that the leaders ought to loſe their hands, and all their abettors be utterly ſtript of power and favour.

Theſe being the ſentiments and diſcourſes of both parties, tending to load the late miniſtry with faults of a very different nature, it may, perhaps, be either of ſome uſe or ſatisfaction to examine thoſe two points; that is to ſay, firſt, how far theſe miniſters are anſwerable to their friends for their neglect, miſmanagement, and mutual diſſenſions; and, ſecondly, with what juſtice they are accuſed, by their enemies, for endeavouring to alter the ſucceſſion of the crown in favour of the pretender.

It is true, indeed, I have occaſionally done this already in two ſeveral treatiſes, of which the one is an Hiſtory, and the other Memoirs of particular facts, but neither of them fit to ſee the light, at preſent; becauſe they abound with characters freely drawn, and many of them not very amiable; and, therefore, intended only for the inſtructing of the next age, and eſtabliſhing the reputation of thoſe who have been uſeful to their country in the preſent. At the ſame time, I take this opportunity of aſſuring thoſe who may happen, ſome years hence, to read the Hiſtory I have written, that the blackeſt characters to be met with in it were not drawn with the leaſt mixture of malice or ill-will, but merely to expoſe the odiouſneſs of vice. For I have always held it as a maxim, that ill men are placed beyond the reach of an hiſtorian, who indeed hath it in his power to reward virtue, but not to puniſh vice: becauſe I never yet ſaw a profligate perſon, who ſeemed to have the

the leaſt regard in what manner his name ſhould be tranſmitted to poſterity: And I knew a certain lord [*f*], not long ſince dead, who, I am very confident, would not have diſpoſed of one ſingle ſhilling to have had it in his choice, whether he ſhould be repreſented to future ages as an *Atticus* or a *Catiline*.

However, being firmly reſolved, for *very material reaſons*, to avoid giving the leaſt offence to any party or perſon in power; I ſhall barely ſet down ſome facts and circumſtances, during the four laſt years of queen *Anne's* reign, which at preſent are little known; and whereby thoſe of the church-party, who object againſt the unſteadineſs, neglect, and want of concert in the late miniſtry, may better account for their faults. Moſt of thoſe facts I can bear witneſs of myſelf, and have received the reſt from ſufficient authority.

It is moſt certain, that, when the queen firſt began to change her ſervants, it was not from a diſlike of things, but of perſons, and thoſe perſons were a very ſmall number. To be more particular, would be *incedere per ignes*. It was the iſſue of Dr. *Sacheverel's* trial that encouraged her to proceed ſo far; and ſeveral of the low-church party, knowing that her diſpleaſure went no further than againſt one ſingle family [*g*], did not appear to diſlike what was done; of which I could give ſome extraordinary inſtances. But that

[*f*] Earl of *Wharton*. [*g*] Duke of *Somerſet*.

famous

famous trial had raiſed ſuch a ſpirit in the nation, againſt the parliament, that her majeſty thought it neceſſary to diſſolve them, which, I am confident, ſhe did not at firſt intend. Upon this reſolution, delivered by the queen, at council, in a more determinate manner than was uſual with her, as I was particularly informed by my lord *Sommers*, then preſident, ſome, who were willing to ſacrifiſe one or two perſons, would not ſacrifiſe their cauſe; but immediately flew off: and the great officers of the court and kingdom began to reſign their employments, which the queen ſuffered moſt of them to do with the utmoſt regret, and which thoſe who knew her beſt thought to be real, eſpecially lord *Sommers* and lord *Cowper*, for whom ſhe had as great a perſonal regard and eſteem, as her nature was capable of admitting, particularly for the former. The new parliament was called during that ferment in the nation, and a great majority of the church party was returned, without the leaſt aſſiſtance from the court; whether to gain a reputation of impartiality, where they were ſecure; or, as Mr. *Harley's* detractors would have it (who was then miniſter), from a refinement of his politics, not to ſuffer, upon the account of I knew not what wiſe reaſons, too great an inequality in the balance.

When the parliament met, they ſoon began to diſcover more zeal than the queen expected or deſired; ſhe had entertained the notion of

forming a moderate or comprehenſive ſcheme, which ſhe maintained with great firmneſs, nor would ever depart from, until half a year before her death: but this neither the houſe of commons nor the kingdom in general were then at all inclined to admit, whatever they may have been in any juncture ſince: ſeveral country-members, to almoſt a third part of the houſe, began immediately to form themſelves into a body, under a fanatick name of the *October-club*. Theſe daily preſſed the miniſtry for a thorough change in employments, and were not put off without jealouſy and diſcontent. I remember it was then commonly underſtood and expected, that, when the ſeſſion ended, a general removal would be made: but it happened otherwiſe; for not only few or none were turned out, but much deliberation was uſed in ſupplying common vacancies by death. This manner of proceeding in a prime miniſter, I confeſs, appeared to me wholly unaccountable, and without example; and I was little ſatisfied with the ſolution I had heard, and partly knew, that he acted thus to keep men at his devotion, by letting expectation lie in common; for I found the effect did not anſwer, and that, in the mean time, he led ſo uneaſy a life, by ſolicitations and purſuits, as no man would endure who had a remedy at hand. About the beginning of his miniſtry, I did, at the requeſt of ſeveral conſiderable perſons, take the liberty of repreſenting this matter to him; his anſwer was ſhort and cold; That he hoped

hoped his friends would truſt him; that he heartily wiſhed none but thoſe who loved the church and queen were employed; but that all things could not be done on a ſudden. I have reaſon to believe, that his neareſt acquaintance were then wholly at a loſs what to think of his conduct. He was forced to preſerve the opinion of power, without which he could not act, while, in reality, he had little or none; and, beſides, he thought it became him to take the burthen of reproach upon himſelf, rather than lay it upon the queen his miſtreſs; who was grown very poſitive, ſlow, and ſuſpicious; and, from the opinion of having been formerly too much *directed*, fell into the other extreme, and became difficult to be *adviſed*. So that few miniſters had ever, perhaps, a harder game to play, between the jealouſy and diſcontents of his friends on one ſide, and the management of the queen's temper on the other.

There could hardly be a firmer friendſhip, in appearance, than what I obſerved between thoſe three great men, who were then chiefly truſted; I mean the lords *Oxford*, *Bolingbroke*, and *Harcourt*. I remember, in the infancy of their power, being at the table of the firſt, where they were all met, I could not forbear taking notice of the great affection they bore to each other; and ſaid, I would venture to propheſy, that, however inconſtant our court had hitherto been, their miniſtry would certainly laſt; for they had the church, the crown, and the people, entirely on their ſide:

then it happened, that the public good and their private intereſt had the ſame bottom, which is a piece of good fortune that doth not always fall to the ſhare of men in power. But, principally, becauſe I obſerved they heartily loved one another; and I did not ſee how their kindneſs could be diſturbed by competition, ſince each of them ſeemed contented with his own diſtrict: ſo that, notwithſtanding the old maxim, which pronounceth court-friendſhips to be of no long duration, I was confident theirs would laſt as long as their lives. But, it ſeems, the inventor of that maxim happened to be a little wiſer than I, who lived to ſee this friendſhip firſt degenerate into indifference and ſuſpicion, and thence corrupt into the greateſt animoſity and hatred; contrary to all appearances, and much to the diſcredit of me and my ſagacity. By what degrees, and from what cauſes, their diſſenſions grew, I ſhall, as far as it may be ſafe and convenient, very impartially relate.

When Mr. *Harley* was ſtabbed by *Guiſcard*, the writer of a weekly paper, called *The Examiner* [*b*], taking occaſion to reflect on that accident, happened to let fall an idle circumſtance, I know not upon what grounds, that the *French* aſſaſſin confeſſed, he, at firſt, intended to have murdered Mr. ſecretary *St. John*; who ſitting at too great a diſtance, he was forced to vent his rage on the other. Whether the ſecretary had been thus inform-

[*b*] See vol. VIII. p. 176.

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ed, or was content that others ſhould believe it, I never yet could learn; but nothing could be more unfortunate than the tendency of ſuch a report, which, by a very unfair diviſion, derived the whole merit of that accident to Mr. *St. John*, and left Mr. *Harley* nothing but the danger and the pain: of both which, although he had a ſufficient ſhare (his phyſicians being often under apprehenſions for his life), yet I am confident the time of his illneſs was a period of more quiet and eaſe than he ever enjoyed during the reſt of his adminiſtration. This report was not unreſented by Mr. *Harley's* friends; and the rather becauſe the fact was directly otherwiſe, as it ſoon appeared by *Guiſcard's* confeſſion.

While that miniſter lay ill of his wound, and his life in queſtion, the weight of buſineſs fell, in ſome meaſure, upon the ſecretary, who was not without ambition; which, I confeſs, I have ſeldom found among the wants of great men; and it was conceived that he had already entertained the thoughts of being at the head of affairs, in caſe Mr. *Harley* ſhould die; although, at the ſame time, I muſt do juſtice to Mr. *St. John*, by repeating what he ſaid to me, with great appearance of concern (and he was but an ill diſſembler), That, if Mr. *Harley's* accident ſhould prove fatal, it would be an irreparable loſs: That, as things then ſtood, his life was abſolutely neceſſary: That, as to himſelf, he was not maſter of the ſcheme by

which they were to proceed, nor had credit enough with the queen; neither did he ſee how it would be poſſible for them, in ſuch a caſe, to wade through the difficulties they were then under. However, not to be over-particular in ſo nice a point, thus much is certain, that ſome things happened during Mr. *Harley's* confinement, which bred a coldneſs and jealouſy between thoſe two great men; and theſe, increaſing by many ſubſequent accidents, could never be removed.

Upon Mr. *Harley's* recovery, which was ſoon followed by his promotion to an earldom and the treaſurer's ſtaff, he was earneſtly preſſed to go on with the change of employments, for which his friends and the kingdom were very impatient; wherein, I am confident, he was not unwilling to comply, if a new incident had not put further difficulties in his way. The queen having thought fit to take the key from the ducheſs of *Marlborough*, it was, after ſome time, given to another great lady [*t*], wholly in the intereſt of the oppoſite party; who, by a moſt obſequious behaviour, of which ſhe is a perfect miſtreſs, and the privileges of her place, which gave her continual acceſs, quickly won ſo far upon the affections of her majeſty, that ſhe had more perſonal credit than all the queen's ſervants put together. Of this lady's character and ſtory, having ſpoken ſo much in other papers, which may

[*t*] Ducheſs of *Somerſet*.

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one day ſee the light, I ſhall only obſerve, that, as ſoon as ſhe was fixed in her ſtation, the queen, following the courſe of her own nature, grew daily much more difficult and uncomplying. Some weak endeavours were, indeed, uſed to divert her majeſty from this choice; but ſhe continued ſteady, and pleaded, that, if ſhe might not have liberty to chuſe her own ſervants, ſhe could not ſee what advantage ſhe had gotten by the change of her miniſtry: and ſo little was her heart ſet upon what they call a high-church or tory adminiſtration, that ſeveral employments in court and country, and a great majority in all commiſſions, remained in the hands of thoſe who moſt oppoſed the preſent proceedings; nor do I remember that any removal of conſequence was made till the winter following, when the earl of *Nottingham* was pleaſed to prepare and offer a vote, in the houſe of lords, againſt any peace, while *Spain* continued in the hands of the *Bourbon* family. Of this vote the miniſters had early notice; and, by caſting up the numbers, concluded they ſhould have a majority of ten to overthrow it. The queen was deſired, and promiſed, to ſpeak to a certain lord, who was looked upon as dubious: That lord attended accordingly, but heard not a word of the matter from her majeſty, although ſhe afterwards owned it was not for want of remembering, but from perfect indifference. The treaſurer, who truſted to promiſes, and reckoned that others would truſt to his, was, by a moſt

a moſt unſeaſonable piece of parſimony, groſsly deceived; and the vote carried againſt the court. The queen had the curioſity to be preſent at the debate; and appeared ſo little diſpleaſed at the event, or againſt thoſe from whom ſhe might have expected more compliance, that a perſon [*k*] in high ſtation among her domeſtics, who, that day, in her preſence, had ſhewn his utmoſt eloquence (ſuch as it was) againſt the miniſters, received a particular mark [*l*] of diſtinction and favour, which, by his poſt, he could not pretend to, and was not removed from her ſervice but with exceeding difficulty, many months after. And it is certain that this vote could not have been carried, if ſome perſons, very near her majeſty, had not given aſſurances where they were proper, that it would be acceptable to the queen, which her behaviour ſeemed to confirm.

But, when the conſequences of this vote were calmly repreſented to her, that the limitation ſpecified therein had wholly tied up her hands, in caſe the recovery of *Spain* ſhould be found impoſſible, as it was frequently allowed and owned by many principal leaders of the oppoſite party, and had, hitherto, been vainly endeavoured, either by treaty or war: That the kingdom was not in a condition to bear any longer its burthen and charge, eſpecially with annual additions: That other expe-

[*k*] Duke of *Somerſet*.
[*l*] To lead out the queen.

dients

dients might poſſibly be found for preventing *France* and *Spain* from being united under the ſame king, according to the intent and letter of the grand alliance: That the deſign of this vote was to put her majeſty under the neceſſity of diſſolving the parliament, beginning all things anew, and placing the adminiſtration in the hands of thoſe whom ſhe had thought fit to lay aſide, and this by ſacrifiſing her preſent ſervants to the rage and vengeance of the former; with many other obvious conſiderations, not very proper at this time to be repeated. Her majeſty, who was earneſtly bent upon giving peace to her people, conſented to fall upon the ſole expedient, that her own coldneſs or the treaſurer's thrift and want or contempt of artifice had left her; which was, to create a number of peers, ſufficient to turn the balance in the houſe of lords. I confeſs that, in my Hiſtory of thoſe times, where this matter, among others, is treated with a great deal more liberty, and conſequently very unfit for preſent peruſal, I have refined ſo far as to conjecture, that, if this were the treaſurer's counſel, he might poſſibly have given it upon ſome further views than that of avoiding the conſequences of my lord *Nottingham's* vote. And what thoſe were, I ſuppoſe, I may offer without offence. It is known enough, that, from the time of the Revolution to the period I am now ſpeaking of, the favour of the court was almoſt perpetually

petually turned towards thoſe who, in the party-term, are called whigs, or the low-church; and this was a ſpace of above twenty years, wherein great additions were made to the peerage; and the biſhops-bench almoſt wholly renewed. But, the majority of landed men ſtill retaining the old church-principles in religion and government, notwithſtanding all endeavours to convert them, the late king was under many inſuperable difficulties during the courſe of his reign; elections ſeldom ſucceeding ſo well, as to leave the court-ſide without ſtrenuous oppoſition, ſufficient to carry many points againſt him, which he had much at heart. Upon the late queen's ſucceeding to the crown, the church-party, who ſeemed to have grown more numerous under all diſcouragements, began to conceive hopes, that her majeſty, who had always profeſſed to favour their principles, would make uſe of their ſervice. And, indeed, upon that foot, things ſtood for ſometime: but, a new war being reſolved on, three perſons, who had moſt credit with her majeſty, and who were then looked upon to be, at leaſt, as high principled as could poſſibly conſiſt with the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, having conſulted their friends, began to conceive that the military ſpirit was much more vigorous in the other party, who appeared more keen againſt *France*, more ſanguine upon the power and wealth of *England*, and better verſed in the arts of finding out funds,

to

to which they had been ſo long uſed. There were ſome other motives for this tranſition of the miniſters at that time, which are more proper for the Hiſtory above-mentioned, where they are faithfully recorded. But thus the queen was brought to govern by what they call a low-church miniſtry, which continued for ſeveral years: till, at length, grown weary of the war, although carried on with great glory and ſucceſs, and the nation riſing into a flame, (whether juſtly or no) upon the trial of Dr. *Sacheverel*, which, in effect, was a general muſter of both parties; her majeſty, following her own inclinations and thoſe of her people, reſolved to make ſome changes in the miniſtry, and take Mr. *Harley* into her councils. This was brought about, as the charge againſt that miniſter ſays, *by the baſeſt inſinuations*; upon which, being a determination of parliament, I ſhall not diſpute: although I confeſs to have received a very different account of that matter from a moſt excellent lady, upon whoſe veracity I entirely depend; and who, being then in chief confidence with her miſtreſs, muſt needs know a particular fact wherein ſhe was immediately concerned and truſted, better than any one man, or number of men, except the majority of a houſe of commons.

When the new parliament met, whoſe elections were left entirely to the people, without the leaſt influence from the court, it plainly appeared how far the church-party in the

the nation out-numbered the other, and eſpecially in the ſeveral countries. But, in the houſe of lords, even after ſome management, there was but a weak and crazy majority: nor even could this have been expected, if ſeveral great lords, who were always reputed of the other party, had not only complied, but been highly inſtrumental in the change; as the dukes of *Shrewſbury* and *Argyle*, the earls of *Peterborough*, *Rivers*, and ſome others, who certainly came into the queen's meaſures upon other motives than that of party. Now, ſince the government of *England* cannot go on while the two houſes of parliament are in oppoſition to each other; and that the people, whenever they acted freely, would infallibly return a majority of church-men: one of theſe two things was of neceſſity to be done; either, firſt, to diſſolve that parliament, and call another of the whig-ſtamp, by force of a prodigious expence, which would be neither decent nor ſafe, and, perhaps, at that time, hardly feaſible: or elſe, to turn the balance in the houſe of lords; which, after the ſucceſs of lord *Nottingham's* vote, was not otherwiſe to be done, than by creating a ſufficient number of peers, in order, at once, to make the queen and her people eaſy upon that article for the reſt of her reign. And this I ſhould be willing to think was the treaſurer's meaning, when he adviſed theſe advancements; which, however, I confeſs, I did very much diſlike.

But

But if, after all I have ſaid, my conjecture ſhould happen to be wrong; yet I do not ſee how the treaſurer can juſtly be blamed, for preſerving his cauſe, his friends, and himſelf, from unavoidable ruin, by an expedient allowed on all hands to be lawful: perhaps, he was brought under that neceſſity by the want of proper management; but, when that neceſſity appeared, he could not act otherwiſe, without unravelling whatever had been done; which, in the language of thoſe times, would have been called, delivering the queen and kingdom back into the hands of a faction they had ſo lately got rid of. And, I believe, no miniſter of any party would, in his circumſtances, have ſcrupled to make the ſame ſtep, when the *ſumma rerum* was at ſtake.

Although the queen was brought into this meaſure by no other motive than her earneſt deſire of a peace, yet the treaſurer's friends began to preſs him anew for further changes in employments; concluding, from what was paſt, that his credit was great enough to compaſs whatever he pleaſed. But this proved to be ill reaſoning; for the queen had no diſlike at all to the other party (whatever perſonal piques ſhe might bear to ſome among them) further than as ſhe conceived they were bent upon continuing the war, to which her majeſty reſolved to put as ſpeedy an end as ſhe could with honour and ſafety to her kingdoms; and therefore fell, with readineſs enough, into the methods propoſed to her

for advancing that great work. But, in diſpenſing her favours, ſhe was extremely cautious and ſlow; and, after the uſual miſtake of thoſe who think they have been often impoſed on, became ſo very ſuſpicious, that ſhe overſhot the mark, and erred in the other extreme. When a perſon happened to be recommended as uſeful for her ſervice, or proper to be obliged, perhaps, after a long delay, ſhe would conſent; but, if the treaſurer offered, at the ſame time, a warrant, or other inſtrument, to her already prepared in order to be ſigned, becauſe he preſumed to reckon upon her conſent beforehand, ſhe would not; and thus the affair would ſometimes lie for ſeveral months together, although the thing were ever ſo reaſonable, or even although the public ſuffered by the delay. So that this miniſter had no other remedy but to let her majeſty take her own time, which never failed to be the very longeſt that the nature of the thing could ſuffer her to defer it.

When this promotion was made, Mr. ſecretary *St. John*, whoſe merits and pretenſions, as things then ſtood, were far ſuperior to any, was purpoſely left out, becauſe the court had need of his great abilities the following ſeſſion, in the houſe of commons; and, the peace being then upon the anvil, he was beſt able to explain and juſtify the ſeveral ſteps towards it; which he accordingly did with invincible reaſon and univerſal applauſe. When the ſeſſion was over, the queen thought fit to give him a title; and,

that

that he might not loſe his rank, created him viſcount. There had been an earldom in his name and family, lately extinct (though a barony fell to a collateral branch in the perſon of an infant); and the ſecretary, being of the ſame houſe, expected and deſired the ſame degree. For he reaſoned, that, making him a viſcount, would be but rigorous juſtice; and he hoped he might pretend to ſome mark of favour. But the queen could not be prevailed with; becauſe, to ſay the truth, he was not much, at that time, in her good graces; ſome women about the court having infuſed an opinion into her, that he was not ſo regular in his life as he ought to be. The ſecretary laid the whole blame of this diſappointment upon the earl of *Oxford*, and freely told me, that he would never depend upon the earl's friendſhip as long as he lived, nor have any further commerce with him, than what was neceſſary for carrying on the public ſervice. And, although I have good reaſon to be aſſured that the treaſurer was wholly innocent in this point, as both himſelf and lady *Maſham* then proteſted to me, yet my lord *Bolingbroke* thought the appearances were ſo ſtrong, that I was never able to bring him over to my opinion.

The diviſions between theſe two great men began to ſplit the court into parties; *Harcourt*, lord chancellor, the dukes of *Shrewſbury* and *Argyle*, ſir *William Windham*, and one or two more, adhered to the ſecretary;

the reſt were either neuters or inclined to the treaſurer, whether from policy or gratitude, although they all agreed to blame and lament his myſterious and procraſtinating manner in acting; which the ſtate of affairs, at that time, could very ill admit, and muſt have rendered the earl of *Oxford* inexcuſable, if the queen's obſtinate temper had not put him under the neceſſity of exerting thoſe talents, wherewith, it muſt be confeſſed, his nature was already too well provided.

This miniſter had ſtronger paſſions than the ſecretary, but kept them under ſtricter government: my lord *Bolingbroke* was of a nature frank and open; and, as men of great genius are ſuperior to common rules, he ſeldom gave himſelf the trouble of diſguiſing or ſubduing his reſentments, although he was ready enough to forget them. In matters of ſtate, as the earl was too reſerved, ſo, perhaps, the other was too free; not from any incontinency of talk, but from the mere contempt of multiplying ſecrets; although the graver counſellors imputed this liberty of ſpeech to vanity, or lightneſs. And, upon the whole, no two men could differ more in their diverſions, their ſtudies, their ways of tranſacting buſineſs, their choice of company, or manner of converſation.

The queen, who was well informed of theſe animoſities among her ſervants, of which her own dubious management had been the original cauſe, began to find, and lament,

the ill conſequences of them in her affairs, both at home and abroad; and to lay the blame upon her treaſurer, whoſe greateſt fault, in his whole miniſtry, was too much compliance with his miſtreſs, by which his meaſures were often diſconcerted, and himſelf brought under ſuſpicion by his friends.

I am very confident, that this alteration in the queen's temper, towards the earl of *Oxford*, could never have appeared, if he had not thought fit to make one ſtep in politics which I have not been able to apprehend. When the queen firſt thought of making a change among her ſervants, after Dr. *Sacheverel's* trial, my lady *Maſham* was very much heard and truſted upon that point; and it was by her intervention Mr. *Harley* was admitted into her majeſty's preſence. That lady was then in high favour with her miſtreſs; which, I believe, the earl was not ſo very ſedulous to cultivate or preſerve, as if he had it much at heart, nor was altogether ſorry when he ſaw it under ſome degree of declination. The reaſons for this muſt be drawn from the common nature of mankind, and the incompatibility of power: but the juncture was not favourable for ſuch a refinement, becauſe it was early known to all, who had but looked into the court, that this lady muſt have a ſucceſſor, who, upon pique and principle, would do all in her power to obſtruct his proceedings. My lady *Maſham* was a perſon of a plain ſound underſtanding, of great truth and ſincerity, without the leaſt

mixture of falſehood or diſguiſe; of an honeſt boldneſs and courage, ſuperior to her ſex; firm and diſintereſted in her friendſhip, and full of love, duty, and veneration for the queen, her miſtreſs: talents as ſeldom found or ſought for in a court, as unlikely to thrive while they are there: ſo that nothing could then be more unfortunate to the public, than a coldneſs between this lady and the firſt miniſter; nor a greater miſtake in the latter, than to ſuffer, or connive, at the leſſening of her credit, which he quickly ſaw removed very diſadvantageouſly to another object [*m*], and wanted the effects of, when his own was ſunk in the only domeſtick affair for which I ever knew him under any concern.

While the queen's favour to the earl was thus gradually leſſening, the breaches between him and his friends grew every day wider, which he looked upon with great indifference, and ſeemed to have his thoughts only turned upon finding out ſome proper opportunity for delivering up his ſtaff: but this her majeſty would not then admit; becauſe, indeed, it was not eaſy to determine who ſhould ſucceed him.

In the midſt of theſe diſpoſitions at court, the queen fell dangerouſly ſick at *Windſor*, about *Chriſtmas* 1713. It was confidently reported in town, that ſhe was dead; and the heads of the expecting party were ſaid to

[*m*] The ducheſs of *Somerſet*.

have

have various meetings thereupon, and a great hurrying of chairs and coaches to and from the earl of *Wharton's* houſe: Whether this were true or not, yet thus much is certain, that the expreſſions of joy appeared very frequent and loud among many of that party; which proceeding men of form did not allow to be altogether decent. A meſſenger was immediately diſpatched, with an account of the queen's illneſs, to the treaſurer, who was then in town; and, in order to ſtop the report of her death, appeared next day abroad in his chariot, with a pair of horſes, and did not go down to *Windſor* till his uſual time. Upon his arrival there, the danger was over, but not the fright, which ſtill ſat on every body's face, and the account given of the confuſion and diſtraction the whole court had been under is hardly to be conceived: upon which, the treaſurer ſaid to me, "Whenever any thing ails the queen, theſe "people are out of their wits; and yet, "they are ſo thoughtleſs, that, as ſoon as "ſhe is well, they act as if ſhe were immor-"tal." I had ſufficient reaſon, both before and ſince, to allow his obſervation to be true, and that ſome ſhare of it might, with juſtice, be applied to himſelf.

The queen had early notice of this behaviour among the diſcontented leaders, during her illneſs. It was, indeed, an affair of ſuch a nature, as required no aggravation; which, however, would not have been wanting, the

women of both parties, who then attended her majeſty, being well diſpoſed to repreſent it in the ſtrongeſt light. The reſult was, that the queen immediately laid aſide all her ſchemes and viſions of reconciling the two oppoſite intereſts, and entered upon a firm reſolution of adhering to the old *Engliſh* principles, from an opinion that the adverſe party waited impatiently for her death, upon views little conſiſting (as the language and opinion went then) with the ſafety of the conſtitution, either in church or ſtate. She, therefore, determined to fall into all juſt and proper methods, that her miniſters ſhould adviſe her to, for the preſervation and continuance of both. This I was quickly aſſured of, not only by the lord chancellor and lord *Bolingbroke*, but by the treaſurer himſelf.

I confeſs myſelf to have been then thoroughly perſuaded that this incident would perfectly reconcile the miniſters, by uniting them in purſuing one general intereſt; and, conſidering no farther than what was fitteſt to be done, I could eaſily foreſee any objections, or difficulties, that the earl of *Oxford* would make. I had, for ſome time, endeavoured to cultivate the ſtricteſt friendſhip between him and the general [*n*], by telling both of them (which happened to be the truth) how kindly they ſpoke of each other;

[*n*] The duke of *Ormond*.

and

and by convincing the latter of what advantage ſuch an union muſt be to her majeſty's ſervice. There was an affair upon which all our friends laid a more than ordinary weight. Among the horſe and foot guards appointed to attend on the queen's perſon, ſeveral officers took every occaſion, with great freedom and bitterneſs of ſpeech, to revile the miniſtry, upon the ſubject of the peace and the pretender, not without many groſs expreſſions againſt the queen herſelf; ſuch as, I ſuppoſe, will hardly be thought on or attempted, but certainly not ſuffered, under the preſent powers. Which proceeding, beſides the indignity, begot an opinion, that her majeſty's perſon might be better guarded than by ſuch keepers, who, after attending at court or at the levee of the general or firſt miniſter, adjourned, to publiſh their diſaffection in coffee-houſes and gaming-ordinaries, without any regard to decency or truth. It was propoſed, that ten or a dozen of the leaſt diſcreet among theſe gentlemen ſhould be obliged to ſell their poſts in the guards; and that two or three, who had gone the greateſt lengths, ſhould have a price fixed for their commiſſions, ſomewhat below the exorbitant rate uſually demanded for a few years paſt. The duke of *Ormond* deſired but ten thouſand pounds to make the matter eaſy to thoſe officers who were to ſucceed; which ſum, his grace told me, the treaſurer had given him encouragement to expect, although he pleaded preſent want of money:

and I cannot but ſay, that, having often, at the duke's deſire, preſſed this miniſter to advance the money, he gave me ſuch anſwers, as made me think he really intended it: but I was quickly undeceived; for, expoſtulating ſome days after with him upon the ſame ſubject, after great expreſſions of eſteem and friendſhip for the duke of *Ormond*, and mentioning ſome ill-treatment he had received from his friends, he ſaid, he knew not why he ſhould do other people's work. The truth is, that, except the duke, my lord *Trevor*, and Mr. ſecretary *Bromley*, I could not find he had one friend left, of any conſequence, in her majeſty's ſervice. The lord chancellor, lord *Bolingbroke*, and lady *Maſham*, openly declared againſt him; to whom were joined the biſhop of [o] *Rocheſter* and ſome others. *Dartmouth*, then privy-ſeal, and *Paulet*, lord ſteward, ſtood neuters. The duke of *Shrewſbury* hated the treaſurer, but ſacrifiſed all reſentments to eaſe, profit, and power; and was then in *Ireland* acting a part directly oppoſite to the court, which he had ſagacity enough to foreſee might quickly turn to account; ſo that the earl of *Oxford* ſtood almoſt ſingle, and every day found a viſible declenſion of the queen's favour towards him; which he took but little care to redreſs, deſiring nothing ſo much as leave to deliver up his ſtaff: which, however, as conjunctures then ſtood, he was not able to

[o] Dr. *Atterbury*.

obtain;

obtain; his adverſaries not having determined where to place it: neither was it, upon ſeveral accounts, a work ſo proper to be done, while the parliament ſate, where the miniſtry had already loſt too much reputation, and eſpecially in the houſe of lords. By what I could gather from ſeveral diſcourſes with the treaſurer, it was not very difficult to find out how he reaſoned with himſelf. The church-party continued violently bent to have ſome neceſſary removals made in the guards, as well as a further change in the civil employments through the kingdom. All the great officers about the court, or in her majeſty's ſervice, except the duke of *Shrewſbury* and one or two more, were in the ſame opinion; the queen herſelf, ſince her laſt illneſs at *Windſor*, had the like diſpoſitions; and, I think, it may appear, from ſeveral paſſages already mentioned, that the blame of thoſe delays, ſo often complained of, did not originally lie at the earl of *Oxford's* door. But the ſtate of things was very much changed by ſeveral incidents: the chancellor, lord *Bolingbroke*, and lady *Maſham*, had entirely forſaken him, upon ſuſpicions I have mentioned before; which, although they were founded on miſtake, yet he would never be at the pains to clear; and, as he firſt leſſened his confidence with the queen, by preſſing her upon thoſe very points, for which his friends accuſed him that they were not performed; ſo, upon her change of

ſentiments, after her recovery, he loſt all favour and credit with her, for not ſeconding thoſe new reſolutions from which ſhe had formerly been ſo averſe. Beſides, he knew, as well as all others who were near the court, that it was hardly poſſible the queen could ſurvive many months; in which caſe, he muſt of neceſſity bring upon him the odium and vengeance of the ſucceſſor, and of that party which muſt then be predominant, who would quickly unravel all he had done: or, if her majeſty ſhould hold out longer than it was reaſonable to expect, yet, after having done a work that muſt procure him many new enemies, he could expect nothing but to be diſcharged in diſpleaſure. Upon theſe reaſons, he continued his excuſes to the duke of *Ormond*, for not advancing the money; and, during the ſix laſt months of his miniſtry, would enter into no affairs but what immediately concerned the buſineſs of his office. That whole period was nothing elſe but a ſcene of murmuring and diſcontent, quarrel and miſunderſtanding, animoſity and hatred, between him and his former friends. In the mean time, the queen's countenance was wholly changed towards him; ſhe complained of his ſilence and ſullenneſs; and, in return, gave him every day freſh inſtances of neglect or diſpleaſure.

The original of this quarrel among the miniſters, which had been attended with ſo many ill conſequences, began firſt between the

the treaſurer and lord *Bolingbroke*, from the cauſes and incidents I have already mentioned; and might, very probably, have been prevented, if the treaſurer had dealt with leſs reſerve, or the lord *Bolingbroke* had put that confidence in him which ſo ſincere a friend might reaſonably have expected. Neither, perhaps, would a reconcilement have been an affair of much difficulty, if their friends on both ſides had not too much obſerved the common prudential forms of *not caring to intermeddle*; which, together with the addition of a ſhrug, was the conſtant anſwer I received from moſt of them, whenever I preſſed them upon the ſubject. I cannot tell whether my lord *Trevor* may be excepted, becauſe I had little acquaintance with him, although I am inclined to the negative. Mr. *Prior*, who was much loved and eſteemed by them both, as he well deſerved, upon the account of every virtue that can qualify a man for private converſation, might have been the propereſt perſon for ſuch a work, if he could have thought it to conſiſt with the prudence of a courtier; but, however, he was abſent in *France* at thoſe junctures when it was chiefly neceſſary. And, to ſay the truth, moſt perſons had ſo avowedly declared themſelves on one ſide or the other, that theſe two great men had hardly a common friend left except myſelf. I had ever been treated with great kindneſs by them both; and I conceived, that what I wanted in weight and credit might be made up with ſincerity and freedom.

freedom. The former they never doubted, and the latter they had conſtant experience of: I had managed between them for almoſt two years; and their candour was ſo great, that they had not the leaſt jealouſy or ſuſpicion of me. And I thought I had done wonders, when, upon the queen's being laſt at *Windſor*, I put them in a coach to go thither by appointment without other company; where they would have four hours time to come to a good underſtanding; but, in two days after, I learned from them both, that nothing was done.

There had been three biſhopricks for ſome time vacant in *Ireland*; and I had prevailed on the earl of *Oxford*, that one of them ſhould be divided. Accordingly four divines of that kingdom were named to the queen, and approved by her; but, upon ſome difficulties not worth mentioning, the queen's mandatory letters to *Ireland* had been delayed: I preſſed the treaſurer every week while her majeſty was at *Windſor*, and every day after her return, to finiſh this affair, as a point of great conſequence to the church in that kingdom; and, growing at length impatient of ſo many excuſes, I fell into ſome paſſion, when his lordſhip freely told me, that he had been earneſt with the queen, upon *that* matter, about ten times the laſt fortnight, but without effect; and that he found his credit wholly at an end. This happened about eleven weeks before the queen died: and, two nights after, ſitting with him and lord *Bolingbroke*,

Lingbroke, in lady *Maſham's* lodgings at *St. James's*, for ſome hours, I told the treaſurer, that, having deſpaired of any reconciliation between them, I had only ſtaid ſome time longer to forward the diſpoſal of thoſe biſhopricks in *Ireland*; which ſince his lordſhip told me was out of his power, I now reſolved to retire immediately, as from an evil I could neither help to redreſs, nor endure the ſight of: That, before I left them, I deſired they would anſwer me two queſtions: firſt, whether theſe miſchiefs might not be remedied in two minutes? and, ſecondly, whether, upon the preſent foot, the miniſtry would not be infallibly ruined in two months? Lord *Bolingbroke* anſwered to each queſtion in the affirmative, and approved of my reſolution to retire; but the treaſurer, after his manner, evaded both, and only deſired me to dine with him next day. However, I immediately went down to a friend in *Berkſhire*, to await the iſſue, which ended in the removal of my lord treaſurer, and, three days after, in her majeſty's death.

Thus I have, with ſome pains, recollected ſeveral paſſages, which I thought were moſt material, for the ſatisfaction of thoſe who appear ſo much at a loſs upon the unaccountable quarrels of the late miniſtry. For, indeed, it looked like a riddle, to ſee perſons of great and undiſputed abilities called by the queen to her ſervice, in the place of others with whoſe proceedings ſhe was diſguſted, and

with great ſatisfaction to the clergy, the lauded intereſt, and body of the people, running, on a ſudden, into ſuch a common beaten court-track of ruin, by diviſions among themſelves; not only without a viſible cauſe, but with the ſtrongeſt appearances to the contrary, and without any refuge to the uſual excuſe of evil inſtruments, or cunning adverſaries, to blow the coals of diſſenſion; for the work was entirely their own.

I impute the cauſe of theſe misfortunes to the queen, who, from the variety of hands ſhe had employed, and reaſonings ſhe had heard, ſince her coming to the crown, was grown very fond of moderating ſchemes, which, as things then ſtood, were by no means reducible to practice; ſhe had likewiſe a good ſhare of that adherence to her own opinions, which is uſually charged upon her ſex. And, laſtly (as I before obſerved), having received ſome hints that ſhe had formerly been too much governed, ſhe grew very difficult to be adviſed.

The next in fault was the treaſurer, who, not being able to influence the queen in many points, with relation to party, which his friends and the kingdom ſeemed to have much at heart, would needs take all the blame on himſelf, from a known principle of ſtate-prudence, that a firſt miniſter muſt always preſerve the reputation of power: but I have ever thought, that there are few maxims in politics, which, at ſome conjunctures, may not be very liable to an exception. The

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queen was by no means inclined to make many changes in employments; ſhe was poſitive in her nature, and extremely given to delay. And ſurely theſe were no proper qualities for a chief miniſter to perſonate towards his neareſt friends, who were brought into employment upon very different views and promiſes. Nor could any reputation of power be worth preſerving at the expence of bringing ſincerity into queſtion. I remember, upon a *Saturday*, when the miniſters and one or two friends of the treaſurer conſtantly met to dine at his houſe, one of the company attacked him very warmly, on account that a certain lord, who perpetually oppoſed the queen's meaſures, was not diſmiſſed from a great employment, which, beſides other advantages, gave that lord the power of chuſing ſeveral members of parliament. The treaſurer evaded the matter with his uſual anſwer, that this was whipping-day: upon which the ſecretary *Bolingbroke*, turning to me, ſaid, It was a ſtrange thing that my lord *Oxford* would not be ſo kind to his friends, and ſo juſt to his own innocence, as to vindicate himſelf where he had no blame; for, to his knowledge and the chancellor's (who was then alſo preſent), the treaſurer had frequently and earneſtly moved the queen upon that very point, without effect: whereupon this miniſter, finding himſelf preſſed ſo far, told the company, that he had at laſt prevailed with her majeſty, and the thing would be done in two days, which followed accordingly. I mention this fact as

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an inſtance of the earl of *Oxford's* diſpoſition to preſerve ſome reputation of power in himſelf, and remove all blame from the queen; and this, to my particular knowledge, was a frequent caſe; but how far juſtifiable in point of prudence, I have already given my opinion. However, the treaſurer's friends were yet much more to blame than himſelf: he had abundance of merit with them all, not only upon account of the public, the whole change of the miniſtry having been effected, without any intervention of theirs, by him and lady *Maſham*; but, likewiſe, from the conſequence of that change, whereby the greateſt employments of the kingdom were divided among them; and therefore, in common juſtice as well as prudence, they ought to have been more indulgent to his real failings, rather than ſuſpect him of imaginary ones, as they often did, through ignorance, refinement, or miſtake: and I mention it to the honour of the ſecretary *Bolingbroke*, as well as of the treaſurer, that, having myſelf, upon many occaſions, joined with the former in quarrelling with the earl's conduct upon certain points, the ſecretary would, in a little time after, frankly own that he was altogether miſtaken.

Laſtly, I cannot excuſe the remiſſneſs of thoſe, whoſe buſineſs it ſhould have been, as it certainly was their intereſt, to have interpoſed their good offices for healing this unhappy breach among the miniſters: but of this I have already ſpoken.

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CHAPTER II.

Written about a YEAR after.

HAVING proceeded thus far, I thought it would be unneceſſary to ſay any thing upon the other head, relating to the deſign of bringing in the pretender: for, upon the earl of *Oxford*'s impeachment, the gentlemen of the prevailing ſide aſſured me, that the whole myſtery would be ſoon laid open to the world, and were ready to place the merit of their cauſe upon that iſſue: this diſcovery we all expected from the Report of the Secret Committee: but, when that treatiſe appeared (whoever were the compilers), we found it to be rather the work of a luxuriant fancy, an abſolute ſtate-pamphlet arguing for a cauſe, than a dry recital of facts or a tranſcript of letters; and, for what related to the pretender, the authors contented themſelves with informing the public, that the whole intrigue was privately carried on in perſonal treaties between the earl of *Oxford* and the abbé *Gaultier*, which muſt needs be a doctrine hard of digeſtion to thoſe who have the leaſt knowledge either of the earl or the abbé, or upon what foot the latter ſtood at that time with the *Engliſh* miniſtry: I conceive that whoever is at diſtance enough to be out of fear either of a vote or a meſſenger, will be as eaſily brought to believe all the Popiſh legends together. And to make ſuch an aſſertion,

tion, in a public Report delivered to the houſe of commons, without the leaſt attempt to prove it, will ſome time or other be reckoned ſuch a ſtrain upon truth and probability as is hard to be equalled in a *Spaniſh* romance. I think, it will be allowed, that the articles of high treaſon drawn up againſt the earl were not altogether founded upon the Report, or at leaſt that thoſe important hints about bringing in the pretender were more proper materials to furniſh out a pamphlet than an impeachment; ſince this accuſation hath no part even among the high crimes and miſdemeanors.

But, notwithſtanding all this, and that the earl of *Oxford*, after two years reſidence in the *Tower*, was at length diſmiſſed without any trial; yet the reproach ſtill went on, that the queen's laſt miniſtry, in concert with their miſtreſs, were deeply engaged in a deſign to ſet the pretender upon the throne. The cultivating of which accuſation I impute to the great goodneſs of thoſe in power, who are ſo gracious to aſſign a reaſon, or at leaſt give a countenance, for that ſudden and univerſal ſweep they thought fit to make on their firſt appearance: whereas they might as well have ſpared that ceremony, by a ſhort recourſe to the royal prerogative, which gives every prince a liberty of chuſing what ſervants he will.

There are two points which I believe myſelf able to make out. Firſt, that neither the late queen nor her miniſters did ever entertain a deſign of bringing in the pretender during

during her majeſty's life, or that he ſhould ſucceed after her deceaſe.

Secondly, that, if they conceived ſuch a deſign, it was abſolutely neceſſary to proſecute it from the firſt year of their miniſtry; becauſe, for at leaſt a year before the queen's death, it was impoſſible to have put ſuch a deſign in execution.

I muſt premiſe with three circumſtances, which have a great effect on me, and muſt have the like upon thoſe among my friends who have any tolerable opinion of my veracity, and it is only to thoſe that I offer them.

I remember, during the late treaty of peace, diſcourſing at ſeveral times with ſome very eminent perſons of the oppoſite ſide, with whom I had long acquaintance, I aſked them ſeriouſly, whether they or any of their friends did in earneſt believe, or ſuſpect, the queen or the miniſtry to have any favourable regards towards the pretender? They all confeſſed, for themſelves, that they believed nothing of the matter; and particularly a perſon, at preſent in great employment, ſaid to me, with much frankneſs, "You ſet up the Church "and *Sacheverel* againſt us, and we ſet up "Trade and the Pretender againſt you."

The ſecond point I would obſerve is this, that, during the courſe of the late miniſtry, upon occaſion of the libels every day thrown about, I had the curioſity to aſk almoſt every perſon in great employment, whether they knew, or had heard, of any one particular man (except thoſe who profeſſed to be non-jurors)

jurors) that diſcovered the leaſt inclination towards the pretender; and the whole number they could muſter up did not amount to above five or ſix, among which one was a certain old lord lately dead, and one a private gentleman, of little conſequence, and of a broken fortune: yet I do not believe myſelf to have omitted any one great man that came in my way, except the duke of *Buckingham*, in whoſe company I never was above once or twice at moſt: I am, therefore, as confident as a man can be of any truth which will not admit a demonſtration, that, upon the queen's death, if we except papiſts and nonjurors, there could not be five hundred perſons in *England*, of all ranks, who had any thoughts of the pretender, and among theſe, not ſix of any quality or conſequence: but how it hath come to paſs that ſeveral millions are ſaid to have ſince changed their ſentiments, it ſhall not be my part to enquire.

The laſt point is of the ſame ſtrain, and I offer it, like the two former, to convince only thoſe who are willing to believe me on my own word; that, having been, for the ſpace of almoſt four years, very nearly and perpetually converſant with thoſe who had the greateſt ſhare of power, and this in their times of leiſure as well as buſineſs, I could never hear one ſingle word to be let fall in favour of the pretender, although I was curious enough to obſerve, in a particular manner, what paſſed upon that ſubject. And I cannot but think, that, if ſuch an affair had been

been in agitation, I muſt have had either very bad luck, or a very ſmall ſhare of common underſtanding, not to have diſcovered ſome grounds, at leaſt, for ſuſpicion: becauſe I never yet knew a miniſter of ſtate, or indeed any other man, ſo great a maſter of ſecrecy, as to be able, among thoſe he nearly converſed with, wholly to conceal his opinions, however he may cover his deſigns. This I ſay, upon a ſuppoſition that they would have held on the maſk always before me, which, however, I have no reaſon to believe. And, I confeſs, it is with the expence of ſome patience that I hear this matter ſummarily determined by thoſe who had no advantages of knowing any thing that paſſed, otherwiſe than what they found in a libel or a coffee-houſe; or, at beſt, from general reaſonings built upon miſtaken facts. Now, although what I have hitherto ſaid upon this point can have no influence further than my own perſonal credit reacheth, yet, I confeſs, I ſhall never be brought to change my opinion, till ſome one, who had more opportunities than I, will be able to produce any ſingle particular from the letters, the diſcourſes, or the actions of thoſe miniſters, as a proof of what they alledge, which hath not yet been attempted or pretended.

But, I believe, there may be ſeveral arguments of another nature produced, which can make it very evident, to thoſe who will hear reaſon, that the queen's miniſters never had

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it in their thoughts to alter the ſucceſſion of the crown.

For, firſt, when her majeſty had determined to change her ſervants, it is very well known that thoſe, whom ſhe appointed to ſucceed them, were generally accounted favourers of what is called the low-church party; not only my lords *Oxford*, *Bolingbroke*, and *Harcourt*, but a great majority of the reſt: among which I can immediately name the dukes of *Shrewſbury*, *Newcaſtle*, and *Argyle*; the earls of *Peterborow*, *Rivers*, *Strafford*, *Ilay*, and *Orrery*; the lords *Manſel* and *Maſham*, with ſeveral others whom I cannot at preſent recollect. Whereas, of the other party, the dukes of *Ormond* and *Buckingham*, and the earl of *Dartmouth*, were the only perſons introduced at firſt, and very few afterwards: which, I ſuppoſe, will clearly evince, that the bringing in of the pretender was not the original ſcheme of ſuch miniſters, and that they were by no means proper inſtruments for ſuch a work.

And whoever knew any thing of the queen's diſpoſition muſt believe ſhe had no inclinations at all in favour of the pretender: ſhe was highly and publickly diſpleaſed with my lord *Bolingbroke*, becauſe he was ſeen under the ſame roof with that perſon at an opera, when his lordſhip was ſent to *France* upon ſome difficulties about the peace: her majeſty ſaid, that he ought immediately to have withdrawn, upon the appearance of the other; wherein, to ſpeak with freedom, I think her judgment

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was a little miſtaken. And, at her toilet, among her women, when mention happened to be made of the chevalier, ſhe would frequently let fall expreſſions of ſuch a nature, as made it manifeſt how little ſhe deſerved thoſe reproaches which have been caſt on her ſince her death, upon that account.

Beſides, I have already ſaid, that her majeſty began thoſe changes at court for no other cauſe than her perſonal diſpleaſure againſt a certain family, and their allies; and from the hope ſhe had to obtain a peace, by the removal of ſome whoſe intereſt it was to obſtruct it: That, when the former chancellor, preſident, and others came to her, determined to deliver up their employments, ſhe preſſed them ſomewhat more than it became her dignity, to continue in their ſtations; of which, I ſuppoſe, my lord *Cowper* is yet a living witneſs.

I am forced to repeat, what I have before obſerved, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty ſhe could be ever perſuaded to diſmiſs any perſon upon the ſcore of party; and that ſhe drove her miniſters into the greateſt diſtreſs, upon my lord *Nottingham's* vote againſt any peace without *Spain*, for want of ſpeaking to one or two depending lords, although with the laſt danger of breaking the meaſures ſhe was moſt fond of towards ſettling the repoſe of *Europe*. She had, beſides, upon the removal of the ducheſs of

Marlborough, choſen another great lady [*p*] to ſucceed, who quickly grew into higher credit than all her miniſters together: a lady openly profeſſing the utmoſt averſion from the perſons, the principles, and meaſures of thoſe who were then in power, and excelling all, even of her own ſex, in every art of inſinuation: and this her majeſty thought fit to do, in oppoſition to the ſtrongeſt repreſentations that could poſſibly be made to her, of the inconveniences which would enſue. Her only objection againſt ſeveral clergymen, recommended to her for promotions in the church, was their being too violent in party. And a lady, in high favour with her, hath frequently aſſured me, that, whenever ſhe moved the queen to diſcard ſome perſons, who, upon all occaſions, with great virulence, oppoſed the court, her majeſty would conſtantly refuſe, and, at the ſame time, condemn her for too much party-zeal.

But, beſide all this, there never was a more ſtale or antiquated cauſe than that of the pretender, at the time when her majeſty choſe her laſt miniſters, who were moſt of them children or youths when king *James* II. abdicated: they found a prince upon the throne, before they were of years to trouble themſelves with ſpeculations upon government; and, conſequently, could have no

[*p*] Ducheſs of *Somerſet*.

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ſcruples of conſcience in ſubmitting to the preſent powers, ſince they hardly remembered any other. And, truly, this was in general the caſe of the whole kingdom: for the adherents of king *James* II. were all either dead or in exile, or ſunk in obſcurity, laden with years and want; ſo that if any guilt were contracted by the Revolution, it was generally underſtood that our anceſtors were only to anſwer for it. And I am confident, with an exception to profeſſed nonjurors, there was not one man in ten thouſand, through *England*, who had other ſentiments. Nor can the contrary opinion be defended, by arguing the prodigious diſaffection at preſent, becauſe the ſame thing hath happened before from the ſame cauſes, in our own country, and within the memory of man, although not with the ſame event.

But ſuch a diſaffection could hardly have been raiſed againſt an abſent prince, who was only in expectation of the throne; and, indeed, I cannot but reckon it as a very ſtrong argument for the good diſpoſition, both in the miniſtry and kingdom, towards the houſe of *Hanover*, that, during my lord *Oxford's* adminiſtration, there was never thrown out the leaſt reflexion againſt that illuſtrious houſe, in any libel or pamphlet; which would hardly have happened, if the ſmall party-writers could have thought, that, by ſuch a performance, they would have made their court to thoſe in power; and

which would certainly have been a very uſeful preliminary, if any attempt had been intended towards altering the ſucceſſion to the crown. But, however, to ſay the truth, invectives againſt the abſent, and with whom we have nothing to do, although they may render perſons little and contemptible, can hardly make them odious: for hatred is produced by motives of a very different nature, as experience hath ſhewn. And, although politicians affirm it more eligible for a prince to be hated than deſpiſed, yet that maxim is better calculated for an abſolute monarchy than for the climate of *England*. But I am ſenſible this is a digreſſion; therefore I return.

The treaties made by her majeſty with *France* and *Spain* were calculated, in ſeveral points, directly againſt the pretender, as he hath now found to his coſt, and as it is manifeſt to all the world. Neither could any thing be more ſuperficial than the politics of thoſe who could be brought to think that the regent of *France* would ever engage in meaſures againſt the preſent king of *England*; and how the grimace of an ambaſſador's taking or not taking his public character, as in the caſe of the earl of *Stairs*, ſhould ſerve ſo long for an amuſement, cannot ſufficiently be wondered at. What can be plainer than that the chief intereſt of the duke of *Orleans* is woven and twiſted with that of king *George*; and this, whether it ſhall be thought convenient to ſuffer the young king of

of *France* to live longer, or not? For, in the ſecond caſe, the regent perfectly agrees with our preſent king in this particular circumſtance, that the whole order of ſucceſſion hath been broken for his ſake; by which means he likewiſe will be encumbered with a pretender, and thereby engaged, upon the ſtrongeſt motives, to prevent the union of *France* and *Spain* under one monarch. And, even in the other caſe, the chance of a boy's life, and his leaving heirs-male of his body, is ſo dubious, that the hopes of a crown to the regent, or his children, will certainly keep that prince, as long as his power continues, very firm in his alliance with *England*.

And, as this deſign was originally intended and avowed by the queen's miniſters, in their treaties with *France* and *Spain*, ſo the events have fully anſwered in every particular. The preſent king ſucceeded to theſe crowns with as hearty and univerſal a diſpoſition of the people, as could poſſibly conſiſt with the grief for the loſs of ſo gracious and excellent a princeſs as her late majeſty: the parliament was moſt unanimous in doing every thing that could endear them to a new monarch. The general peace did entirely put an end to any deſign which *France* or *Spain* might probably have laid to make a diverſion by an invaſion upon *Scotland*, with the pretender at the head, in caſe her majeſty had happened to die during the courſe of the war: and, upon the death of the late

French king, the duke of *Orleans* fell immediately into the ſtricteſt meaſures with *England*; as the queen and her miniſters eaſily foreſaw it would be neceſſary for him to do, from every reaſon that could regard his own intereſt. If the queen had died but a ſhort time before the peace, and either of the two great powers engaged againſt us had thought fit to have thrown ſome troops into *Scotland*, although it could not have been a very agreeable circumſtance to a ſucceſſor and a ſtranger, yet the univerſal inclinations at that time in *England* towards the houſe of *Hanover* would, in all probability, have prevented the conſequences of ſuch an enterprize. But, on the other ſide, if the war had continued a year longer than her majeſty's life, and the ſame cauſes had been applied to produce the ſame effects upon the affections of the people, the iſſue muſt inevitably have been either a long and bloody civil war, or a ſudden revolution. So that no incident could have arrived more effectual, to fortify the preſent king's title, and ſecure his poſſeſſion, than that very peace ſo much exploded by one party, and ſo juſtly celebrated by the other; in continuing to declare which opinions, under the preſent ſituation of things, it is not very improbable that they may both be in jeſt.

But, if any articles of that peace were like to endanger the proteſtant ſucceſſion, how could it come to paſs that the *Dutch*, who were

were guarantees of *that* ſucceſſion, and valued for zealous defenders of it, ſhould be ſo ready with their offers to comply with every article, and this for no greater a reward than a ſhare in the *Aſſiento* trade, which the oppoſers of peace repreſented to be only a trifle? That the fact is true I appeal to monſieur *de Buys*, who, upon ſome difficulties the miniſtry were under by the earl of *Nottingham's* vote againſt any peace while *Spain* continued in the *Bourbon* family, undertook to make that matter eaſy, by getting a full approbation from the *States*, his maſters, of all her majeſty's proceedings, provided they might be ſharers in that trade. I can add this further, that, ſome months after the concluſion of the peace, and amidſt all the appearing diſcontents of the *Dutch*, a gentleman, who had long reſided in *Holland*, and was occaſionally employed by the miniſters here, aſſured me that he had power from the penſioner to treat with the earl of *Oxford*, about ſending hither an extraordinary embaſſy from *Holland*, to declare that the *States* were fully ſatisfied with the whole plan of the peace, upon certain conditions, which were eaſy and honourable, and ſuch as had no relation at all to the pretender. How this happened to fail, I never enquired, nor had any diſcourſe about it with thoſe in power. For then their affairs were growing deſperate, by the earl of *Oxford's* declination in the queen's favour; both which became ſo public,

public, as well as her majeſty's bad ſtate of health, that, I ſuppoſe, thoſe circumſtances might eaſily cool the *Dutch* politicians in that purſuit.

I remember to have heard it objected againſt the late miniſtry, as an inſtance of their inclination towards the pretender, that they were careleſs in cultivating a good correſpondence with the houſe of *Hanover*. And, on the other ſide, I know very well what continual pains were employed to ſatisfy and inform the elector and his miniſters in every ſtep taken by her majeſty, and what offers were made to his highneſs for any further ſecurities of the ſucceſſion in him and his family, that could conſiſt with the honour and ſafety of the queen. To this purpoſe were all the inſtructions given to earl *Rivers*, Mr. *Thomas Harley*, lord *Clarendon*, and ſome others. But all endeavours were rendered abortive by a fooliſh circumſtance, which hath often made me remember the common obſervation, of the greateſt events depending frequently upon the loweſt, vileſt, and obſcureſt cauſes: and this is never more verified than in courts, and the iſſues of public affairs, whereof I could produce, from my own knowledge and obſervation, three or four very ſurprizing inſtances. I have ſeen an old [*q*] bedmaker, by officiouſly going to one door when gratitude as well as com-

[*q*] Mrs. *Foiſſor*, neceſſary-woman to the queen, preferred to that employment by my lady *Maſham*.

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mon ſenſe ſhould have ſent her to another, become the inſtrument of putting the nation to the expence of ſome thouſand lives, and ſeveral millions of money. I have known as great an event from the ſtupidity, or wilfulneſs of a beggarly *Dutchman* [*r*], who lingered on purpoſe half an hour at a viſit, when he had promiſed to be ſomewhere elſe. Of no greater dignity was that circumſtance, which rendered ineffectual all endeavours of the late miniſtry to eſtabliſh themſelves in the good graces of the court of *Hanover*, as I ſhall particularly relate in another work. It may ſuffice to hint at preſent, that a delay in conveying a very inconſiderable ſum to a very inconſiderable *French* [*s*] vagrant, gave the opportunity to a more induſtrious party, of corrupting that channel through which all the ideas of the diſpoſitions and deſigns of the queen, the miniſters, and the whole *Britiſh* nation were conveyed.

The ſecond point which I conceive myſelf able to make out, is this: that, if the queen's miniſters had, with or without the knowledge of their miſtreſs, entertained any thoughts of altering the ſucceſſion in favour of the pretender, it was abſolutely neceſſary for them to have begun, and proſecuted that deſign,

[*r*] *Carew* lord *Hunſden*, born and bred in *Holland*.

[*s*] *Robithan*, then at *Hanover*, but in the ſervice of ſome other *German* prince, it is not known how, got into ſome credit with the elector.

as ſoon as they came into her majeſty's ſervice.

There were two circumſtances which would have made it neceſſary for them to have loſt no time. Firſt, becauſe it was a work that could not poſſibly be done on a ſudden. For the whole nation, almoſt to a man, excepting profeſſed nonjurors, had conceived the utmoſt abhorrence of a popiſh ſucceſſor. And, as I have already obſerved, the ſcruple of conſcience, upon the point of loyalty, was wholly confined to a few antiquated nonjurors, who lay ſtarving in obſcurity. So that, in order to have brought ſuch an affair about in a parliamentary way, ſome years muſt have been employed to turn the bent of the nation, to have rendered one perſon odious and another amiable; neither of which is to be ſoon compaſſed towards abſent princes, unleſs by comparing them with thoſe of whom we have had experience, which was not *then* the caſe.

The other circumſtance was, the bad condition of the queen's health; her majeſty growing every day more unwieldy, and the gout, with other diſorders, increaſing on her; ſo that whoever was near the court, for about the two laſt years of her reign, might boldly have fixed the period of her life to a very few months, without pretending to propheſy. And how little a time the miniſters had for ſo great a work as that of changing the ſucceſſion of the crown, and how difficult

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the very attempt would have been, may be judged from the umbrage taken by ſeveral lords of the church-party, in the laſt year of her reign, who appeared under an apprehenſion that the very quarrels among the miniſters might poſſibly be of ſome diſadvantage to the houſe of *Hanover*. And the univerſal declaration, both among lords and commons, at that time, as well in favour of the elector as againſt the pretender, are an argument, beyond all conviction, that ſome years muſt have been ſpent in altering the diſpoſitions of the people. Upon this occaſion, I ſhall not ſoon forget what a great miniſter then ſaid to me, and which I have been ſince aſſured was likewiſe the duke of *Shrewſbury's* opinion, That there could be no doubt of the elector's undiſturbed ſucceſſion; but the chief difficulty lay in the future diſaffection of the church, and people, and landed intereſt, from that univerſal change of men and meaſures, which he foreſaw would arrive. And it muſt be, to all impartial men, above a thouſand witneſſes, how innocent her majeſty's ſervants were upon this article; that, knowing ſo well through what channels all favour was to paſs upon the queen's demiſe, they, by their coming into power, had utterly, and for ever, broken all meaſures with the oppoſite party; and that, in the beginning of their adminiſtration, there wanted not, perhaps, certain favourable junctures, which ſome future circumſtances would not have failed to cultivate;

cultivate; yet their actions ſhewed them ſo far from any view towards the pretender, that they neglected purſuing thoſe meaſures which they had conſtantly in their power, not only of ſecuring themſelves, but the intereſt of the church, without any violence to the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the perſon of the elector. And this unhappy neglect I take to have been the only diſgrace of their miniſtry. To prevent this evil was, I confeſs, the chief point wherein all my little politics terminated; and the methods were eaſy and obvious. But whoever goes about to gain favour with a prince by a readineſs to enlarge his prerogative, although out of principle and opinion, ought to provide that he be not outbid by another party, however profeſſing a contrary principle. For I never yet read or heard of any party acting in oppoſition to the true intereſt of their country, whatever republican denominations they affected to be diſtinguiſhed by, who would not be contented to chaffer public liberty for perſonal power, or for an opportunity of gratifying their revenge. Of which truth *Greece* and *Rome*, as well as many other ſtates, will furniſh plenty of examples. This reflexion I could not well forbear, although it may be of little uſe further than to diſcover my own reſentment. And yet, perhaps, that misfortune ought rather to be imputed to the want of concert and confidence, than of prudence or courage.

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I muſt here take notice of an accuſation charged upon the late miniſtry, by the houſe of commons, that they put a lie, or falſehood, into the queen's mouth, to be delivered to her parliament. Mr. *Thomas Harley* was ſent to the elector of *Hanover* with inſtructions, to offer his highneſs any further ſecurities, for ſettling the ſucceſſion in him and his family, that could conſiſt with her majeſty's honour and ſafety. This gentleman writ a letter to the ſecretary of ſtate, a little before his return from *Hanover*, ſignifying, in direct terms, that the elector expreſſed himſelf ſatisfied in the queen's proceedings, and deſired to live in confidence with her. He writ to the ſame purpoſe to one of the under-ſecretaries, and mentioned the fact as a thing that much pleaſed him, and what he deſired might be as public as poſſible. Both theſe letters I have read; and the queen, as ſhe had reaſon to ſuppoſe, being ſufficiently authorized by this notice from her miniſter, made mention of that information in a ſpeech from the throne. If the fact were a lie, it is what I have not heard Mr. *Harley* to have been charged with. From what hath ſince paſſed in the world, I ſhould indeed be inclined to grant it might have been a compliment in his highneſs, and perhaps underſtood to be ſo by the queen; but, without queſtion, her majeſty had a fair excuſe to take the elector according to the literal meaning of his words. And, if this be ſo, the imputation of falſehood muſt remain,

where theſe accuſers of that excellent princeſs's veracity will, I ſuppoſe, not profeſs (at leaſt) an inclination to place it.

I am very willing to mention the point, wherein, as I ſaid, all my little politics terminated, and wherein I may pretend to know that the miniſters were of the ſame opinion; and would have put it in practice, if it had pleaſed God to let them continue to act with any kind of unanimity.

I have already obſerved how well it was known at court what meaſures the elector intended to follow, whenever his ſucceſſion ſhould take place: and what hands he would employ in the adminiſtration of his affairs. I have likewiſe mentioned ſome facts and reaſons, which influenced and fixed his highneſs in that determination, notwithſtanding all poſſible endeavours to divert him from it. Now if we conſider the diſpoſitions of *England*, at that time, when almoſt the whole body of the clergy, a vaſt majority of the landed intereſt, and of the people in general, were of the church-party; it muſt be granted that one or two acts, which might have paſſed in ten days, would have put it utterly out of the power of the ſucceſſor to have procured a houſe of commons of a different ſtamp, and this with very little diminution to the prerogative; which acts might have been only temporary. For the uſual arts to gain parliaments can hardly be applied with ſucceſs after the election, againſt a majority, at leaſt, of three in four; becauſe the trouble and expence

pence would be too great, beſide the loſs of reputation. For, neither could ſuch a number of members find their account in point of profit, nor would the crown be at ſo much charge and hazard merely for the ſake of governing by a ſmall party, againſt the bent and genius of the nation. And, as to all attempts of influencing electors, they would have been ſufficiently provided for by the ſcheme intended. I ſuppoſe it need not be added, that the government of *England* cannot move a ſtep while the houſe of commons continues to diſlike proceedings, or perſons employed, at leaſt in an age where parliaments are grown ſo frequent, and are made ſo neceſſary: whereas a miniſter is but the creature of a day; and a houſe of lords hath been modelled in many reigns, by enlarging the number as well as by other obvious expedients.

The judicious reader will ſoon comprehend how eaſily the legiſlature, at time, could have provided againſt the power and influence of a court, or miniſtry, in future elections, without the leaſt injury to the ſucceſſion, and even without the modern invention of perpetuating themſelves; which, however, I muſt needs grant to be one of the moſt effectual, vigorous, and reſolute proceedings that I have yet met with in reading or information. For the long parliament under king *Charles* I. although it ſhould be allowed of good authority, will hardly amount to an example.

I muſt again urge and repeat, that thoſe who charge the earl of *Oxford*, and the reſt of that miniſtry, with a deſign of altering the ſucceſſion of the crown in favour of the pretender, will, perhaps, be at ſome difficulty to fix the time when that deſign was in agitation: for, if ſuch an attempt had begun with their power, it is not eaſy to aſſign a reaſon why it did not ſucceed; becauſe there were certain periods when her majeſty and her ſervants were extremely popular, and the houſe of *Hanover* not altogether ſo much, upon account of ſome behaviour and management in one or two of their miniſters here, and ſome other circumſtances that may better be paſſed over in ſilence: all which, however, had no other conſequences than that of repeated meſſages of kindneſs and aſſurance to the elector. During the laſt two years of the queen's life, her health was in ſuch a condition, that it was wondered how ſhe could hold out ſo long: and then, as I have already obſerved, it was too late and hazardous to engage in an enterprize which required ſo much time, and which the miniſters themſelves had rendered impracticable, by the whole courſe of their former proceedings, as well as by the continuance and heightening of thoſe diſſenſions which had early riſen among them.

The party now in power will eaſily agree, that this deſign of overthrowing the ſucceſſion could not be owing to any principle of

of conſcience in thoſe whom they accuſe; for they knew very well, by their own experience and obſervation, that ſuch kind of ſcruples have given but ſmall diſturbance of late years in theſe kingdoms. Since intereſt is therefore the only teſt by which we are to judge the intentions of thoſe who manage public affairs, it would have been but reaſonable to have ſhewn how the intereſt of the queen's miniſters could be advanced by introducing the pretender, before they were charged with ſuch an intention. Her majeſty was ſeveral years younger than her intended ſucceſſor, and, at the beginning of that miniſtry, had no diſorders, except the gout, which is not uſually reckoned a ſhortner of life; and thoſe in chief truſt were generally ſpeaking, older than their miſtreſs: ſo that no perſons had ever a fairer proſpect of running on the natural life of an *Engliſh* miniſtry; conſidering, likewiſe, the general vogue of the kingdom, at that time, in their favour. And it will be hard to find an inſtance in hiſtory of a ſett of men, in full poſſeſſion of power, ſo ſanguine as to form an enterprize of overthrowing the government, without the viſible proſpect of a general defection, which (then at leaſt) was not to be hoped for. Neither do I believe it was ever heard of, that a miniſtry in ſuch circumſtances durſt engage in ſo dangerous an attempt, without the direct commands of their ſovereign. And as to

the perſons then in ſervice, if they may be allowed to have common ſenſe, they would much ſooner have ſurrendered their employments than hazard the loſs of their heads at ſo great odds, before they had tried or changed the diſpoſition of the parliament; which is an *accuſation*, that, I think, none of their libellers have charged upon them, at leaſt till towards the end of their miniſtry, and then very abſurdly, becauſe the want of time, and other circumſtances, rendered ſuch a work impoſſible, for ſeveral reaſons which I have already related.

And whoever conſiders the late queen, ſo little enterpriſing in her nature, ſo much given to delay, and at the ſame time ſo obſtinate in her opinions (as *reſtineſs* is commonly attended with ſlowneſs), ſo great a purſuer of peace and quiet, and ſo exempt from the two powerful paſſions of love and hatred; will hardly think ſhe had a ſpirit turned for ſuch an undertaking: if we add to this, the contempt ſhe often expreſſed for the perſon and concerns of the chevalier, her brother, of which I have already ſaid enough to be underſtood.

It hath been objected againſt the late queen and her ſervants, as a mark of no favourable diſpoſition towards the houſe of *Hanover*, that the electoral prince was not invited to reſide in *England*: and, at the ſame time, it ought to be obſerved that this objection was raiſed and ſpread by the leaders of that party, who

firſt oppoſed the counſel of inviting him, offering, among other arguments againſt it, the example of queen *Elizabeth*, who would not ſo much as ſuffer her ſucceſſor to be declared, expreſſing herſelf, that ſhe *would* not live with her grave-ſtone always in her ſight; although the caſe be by no means parallel between the two queens. For, in her late majeſty's reign, the crown was as firmly ſettled on the *Hanover* Family as the legiſlature could do it: and the queſtion was only, whether the preſumptive heir, of diſtant kindred, ſhould keep his court in the ſame kingdom and metropolis with the ſovereign, while the nation was torn between different parties, to be at the head of that faction, which her majeſty and the body of her people utterly diſapproved? and, therefore, the leaders on both ſides, when they were in power, did poſitively determine this queſtion in the negative. And, if we may be allowed to judge by events, the reaſons were cogent enough; ſince differences may happen to ariſe between two princes the moſt nearly allied in blood; although it be true indeed, that, where the duty to a parent is added to the allegiance of a ſubject, the conſequence of family-diſſenſions may not always be conſiderable.

For my own part, I freely told my opinion to the miniſters; and did afterwards offer many reaſons for it in a diſcourſe intended for the public (but ſtopped by the

queen's death), that the young grandſon (whoſe name I canot remember) ſhould be invited over to be educated in *England*; by which, I conceived, the queen might be ſecure from the influence of cabals and factions; the zealots, who affected to believe the ſucceſſion in danger, could have no pretences to complain; and the nation might one day hope to be governed by a prince of *Engliſh* manners and language, as well as acquainted with the true conſtitution of church and ſtate. And this was the judgment of thoſe at the helm before I offered it: neither were they or their miſtreſs to be blamed, that ſuch a reſolution was not purſued. Perhaps, from what hath ſince happened, the reader will be able to ſatisfy himſelf.

I have now ſaid all I could think convenient (conſidering the time wherein I am writing) upon thoſe two points, which I propoſed to diſcourſe on; wherein I have dealt with the utmoſt impartiality, and, I think, upon the faireſt ſuppoſition, which is that of allowing men to act upon the motives of their intereſts and their paſſions: for I am not ſo weak as to think one miniſtry more virtuous than another, unleſs by chance, or by extraordinary prudence and virtue of the prince; which laſt, taking mankind in the lump, and adding the great counterbalance of royal education, is a very rare accident; and, where it happens, is even then of little uſe, when factions are violent. But it

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ſo falls out, that, among contending parties in *England*, the general intereſt of church and ſtate is more the private intereſt of one ſide than the other; ſo that, whoever profeſſeth to act upon a principle of obſerving the laws of his country, may have a ſafe rule to follow, by diſcovering whoſe particular advantage it chiefly is, that the conſtitution ſhould be preſerved entire in all its parts. For there cannot, properly ſpeaking, be above two parties in ſuch a government as ours; and one ſide will find themſelves obliged to take in all the ſubaltern denominations of thoſe who diſlike the preſent eſtabliſhment, in order to make themſelves a balance againſt the other; and ſuch a party, compoſed of mixed bodies, although they differ widely in the ſeveral fundamentals of religion and government, and all of them from the true public intereſt; yet, whenever their leaders are taken into power, under an ignorant, unactive, or ill-deſigning prince, will probably, by the aſſiſtance of time or force, become the majority, unleſs they be prevented by a ſteadineſs, which there is little reaſon to hope, or by ſome revolution, which there is much more reaſon to fear. For abuſes in adminiſtration may laſt much longer than politicians ſeem to be aware of; eſpecially where ſome bold ſteps are made to corrupt the very fountain of power and legiſlature: in which caſe, as it may happen in ſome ſtates, the whole body of the people are

drawn in, by their own ſuppoſed conſent to be their own enſlavers; and, where will they find a thread to wind themſelves out of this labyrinth? or, will they not rather wiſh to be governed by arbitrary power, after the manner of other nations? For whoever conſiders the courſe of the *Roman* empire after *Caſar's* uſurpation, the long continuance of the *Turkiſh* government, or the deſtruction of the *Gothic* balance in moſt kingdoms of *Europe*, will eaſily ſee how controlable that maxim is, that *res volunt diu malè adminiſtrari*: becauſe, as corruptions are more natural to mankind than perfections, ſo they are more likely to have a longer continuance. For the vices of men, conſidered as individuals, are exactly the ſame when they are moulded into bodies; nor otherwiſe to be withheld in their effects, than by good fundamental laws; in which, when any great breaches are made, the conſequence will be the ſame as in the life of a particular man, whoſe vices are ſeldom known to end but with himſelf.

THE

THE ADDRESS OF THE HOUSE of LORDS to the QUEEN.

[Drawn up by Dr. SWIFT, at the Command of the LORD TREASURER, and delivered by the DUKE of GRAFTON].

WE your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, in parliament aſſembled, do, with the greateſt joy and ſatisfaction, return our humble thanks to your majeſty for your moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne, and for communicating to this houſe that peace is agreed on, ſo honourable to your majeſty, and ſafe and advantageous to your kingdoms; by which we hope, with the bleſſing of God, that your people will, in a few years, recover themſelves, after ſo long and expenſive a war. We likewiſe beg leave to congratulate with your majeſty upon the ſucceſs of your endeavours for a general peace; whereby the tranquillity and welfare of *Europe* will be owing (next to the Divine Providence) to your majeſty's wiſdom and goodneſs. We never had the leaſt doubt but that your majeſty, who is the greateſt ornament and protector of the

Proteſtant religion, would do every thing for ſecuring the Proteſtant ſucceſſion; towards which nothing can be more neceſſary than the perfect harmony there is between your majeſty and the houſe of *Hanover*. And we do humbly aſſure your majeſty, that, as you are pleaſed to expreſs your dependence (next under God) upon the duty and affection of your people; we think ourſelves bound, by the greateſt ties of religion, loyalty, and gratitude, to make all returns that can be due, from the moſt obedient ſubjects, to the moſt indulgent ſovereign.

AN
ANECDOTE
RELATIVE TO THE
PEACE OF UTRECHT.

ONE Dr. *Helvetius* was ſent from *Paris*, by *Torcy*, to *Devenwordt*, at the *Hague*, with the firſt propoſals for a peace ſeparate with *Holland*; a year after which the preliminaries, at *Gertrudenberg*, were tranſacted by the Mar. *D'Uxelles* and *Polignac*, and afterwards *Menager* was privately diſpatched to the ſame effect.

My lord *Strafford* had the firſt intimation of theſe ſeparate tranſactions of *France* and *Holland*, from the duke of *Marlborough* (as a thing a good while before in agitation), and afterwards from *Devenwordt* himſelf, who told him that he ſent to *Paris* for Dr. *Helvetius* to cure him of a rheumatiſm, which opportunity *Torcy* took to negotiate by him.

Helvetius ſince confirmed the ſame ſtory to my lord *Strafford*, in the year 1720.

A CO-

A COPY OF DR. SWIFT'S MEMORIAL to the QUEEN.

APRIL 15, 1714.

THE change of miniſtry about four years ago, the fall of the duke of *Marlborough*, and the proceedings ſince, in relation to the peace and treaties, are all capable of being very maliciouſly repreſented to poſterity, if they ſhould fall under the pen of ſome writer of the oppoſite party, as they probably may.

Upon theſe reaſons, it is neceſſary, for the honour of the queen and in juſtice to her ſervants, that ſome able hand ſhould be immediately employed to write the Hiſtory of her majeſty's reign; that the truth of things may be tranſmitted to future ages, and bear down the falſehood of malicious pens.

The dean of *St. Patrick's* is ready to undertake this work, humbly deſiring her majeſty will pleaſe to appoint him her hiſtoriographer, not from any view of the profit (which is ſo inconſiderable that it will hardly

ſerve

ſerve to pay the expence of ſearching offices), but from an earneſt deſire to ſerve his queen and country; for which that employment will qualify him, by an opportunity of acceſs to thoſe places where papers and records are kept, which will be neceſſary to any who undertake ſuch an Hiſtory.

SOME

SOME CONSIDERATIONS UPON THE CONSEQUENCES HOPED and FEARED FROM THE DEATH of the QUEEN.

AUG. 9, 1714.

IN order to ſet in a clear light what I have to ſay upon this ſubject, it will be convenient to examine the ſtate of the nation with reference to the two contending parties; this cannot well be done without ſome little retroſpection into the five laſt years of her late majeſty's reign.

I have it from unqueſtionable authority, that the ducheſs of *Marlborough's* favour began to decline very ſoon after the queen's acceſſion to the throne, and that the earl of *Godolphin's* held not much above two years longer; although her majeſty (no ill concealer of her affections) did not think fit to deprive them of their power until a long time after.

The duke of *Marlborough* and the earl of *Godolphin* having fallen early into the intereſts of the lower party, for certain reaſons

not ſeaſonable here to be mentioned (but which may deſerve a place in the hiſtory of that reign), they made large ſteps that way upon the death of the prince of *Denmark*, taking in ſeveral among the warmeſt leaders of that ſide, into the chief employments of the ſtate. Mr. *Harley*, then ſecretary of ſtate, who diſliked their proceedings, and had very near overthrown their whole ſcheme, was removed with the utmoſt indignation, and about the ſame time, ſir *Simon Harcourt* and Mr. *St. John*, with ſome others, voluntarily gave up their employments.

But the queen, who had then a great eſteem for the perſon and abilities of Mr. *Harley* (and, in proportion, of the other two, although at that time not equally known to her), was deprived of his ſervice with ſome regret; and, upon that and other motives well known at court, began to think herſelf hardly uſed; and ſeveral ſtories ran about, whether true or falſe, that her majeſty was not always treated with that duty ſhe might expect. Mean-time the church-party were loud in their complaints, ſurmiſing, from the virulence of ſeveral pamphlets, from certain bills projected to be brought into parliament, from endeavours to repeal the ſacramental teſt, from the avowed principles and free ſpeeches of ſome perſons in power, and other jealouſies needleſs to repeat, that ill-deſigns were forming againſt the religion eſtabliſhed.

Theſe fears were all confirmed by the trial of *Sacheverel*, which drew the populace, as one

one man, into the party againſt the miniſtry and parliament.

The miniſtry were very ſuſpicious, that the queen had ſtill a reſerve of favour for Mr. *Harley*, which appeared by a paſſage that happened ſome days after his removal: For, the earl of *Godolphin's* coach and his happening to meet near *Kenſington*, the earl a few hours after reproached the queen, that ſhe privately admitted Mr. *Harley*, and was not without ſome difficulty undeceived by her majeſty's aſſeverations to the contrary.

Soon after the doctor's trial, this gentleman, by the queen's command and the intervention of Mrs. *Maſham*, was brought up the back-ſtairs; and that princeſs, ſpirited by the addreſſes from all parts, which ſhewed the inclinations of her ſubjects to be very averſe from the proceedings in court and parliament, was reſolved to break the united power of the *Marlborough* and *Godolphin* families, and to begin this work, by taking the diſpoſal of employments into her own hands: for which an opportunity happened by the death of the earl of *Eſſex*, lieutenant of the tower, whoſe employment was given to the earl *Rivers*, to the great diſcontent of the duke of *Northumberland*, then colonel of the *Oxford* regiment, to which the earl of *Hartford* was to ſucceed. Some time after, the chamberlain's ſtaff was diſpoſed of to the duke of *Shrewſbury* in the abſence, and without the privity of the earl of *Godolphin*. The earl of *Sunderland's* removal followed, and laſtly,

laſtly, that of the high treaſurer himſelf, whoſe office was put into commiſſion, whereof Mr. *Harley* (made at the ſame time chancellor of the exchequer) was one. I need ſay nothing of other removals, which are well enough known and remembered: let it ſuffice that, in eight or nine months time, the whole face of the court was altered, and very few friends of the former miniſtry left in any great ſtations there.

I have good reaſons to be aſſured, that, when the queen began this change, ſhe had no intentions to carry it ſo far as the church-party expected, and have ſince been ſo impatient to ſee. For, although ſhe were a true profeſſor of the religion eſtabliſhed, yet the firſt motives to this alteration did not ariſe from any dangers ſhe apprehended to that or the government; but from a deſire to get out of the dominion of ſome, who ſhe thought had kept her too much and too long in pupilage. She was in her own nature extremely dilatory and timorous; yet, upon ſome occaſions, poſitive to a great degree. And, when ſhe had got rid of thoſe who had, as ſhe thought, given her the moſt uneaſineſs, ſhe was inclined to ſtop, and entertain a fancy of acting upon a moderating ſcheme, from whence it was very difficult to remove her. At the ſame time I muſt confeſs my belief, that this imagination was put into her head, and made uſe of as an encouragement to begin that work, after which her adviſers might think it eaſier to prevail with her to go as far

as

as they thought fit. That these were her majesty's dispositions in that conjuncture, may be confirmed by many instances. In the very height of the change, she appeared very loth to part with two great officers of state of the other party; and some, whose absence the new ministers most earnestly wished, held in for above two years after.

Mr. *Harley*, who acted as first minister before he had the staff, as he was a lover of gentle measures and inclined to procrastination, so he could not, with any decency, press the queen too much against her nature; because it would be like running upon the rock where his predecessors had split. But, violent humours running both in the kingdom and the new parliament, against the principles and persons of the low-church party, gave this minister a very difficult part to play. The warm members in both houses, especially among the commons, pressed for a thorough change, and so did almost all the queen's new servants, especially after Mr. *Harley* was made an earl and high treasurer. He could not, in good policy, own his want of power, nor fling the blame upon his mistress. And, as too much secresy was one of his faults, he would often, upon these occasions, keep his nearest friends in the dark. The truth is, he had likewise other views, which were better suited to the maxims of state in general, than to that situation of affairs. By leaving many employments in the hands of the discontented party, he fell in with the

queen's

queen's humour, he hoped to acquire the reputation of lenity, and kept a great number of expectants in order, who had liberty to hope, while any thing remained undiſpoſed of. He ſeemed alſo to think, as other miniſters have done, that, ſince factions are neceſſary in ſuch a government as ours, it would be prudent not altogether to lay the preſent one proſtrate, leſt another more plauſible, and therefore not ſo eaſy to grapple with, might ariſe in its ſtead.

However, it is certain that a great part of the load he bore was unjuſtly laid on him. He had no favourites among the whig-party, whom he kept in upon the ſcore of old friendſhip or acquaintance; and he was a greater object of their hatred than all the reſt of the miniſtry together.

A SER-

A SERMON

UPON THE MARTYRDOM of K. CHARLES I.

Preached at St. *Patrick's, Dublin, Jan.* 30, 1725-6, being *Sunday*.

GENESIS xlix. 5, 6, 7.

SIMEON *and* LEVI *are brethren; inſtruments of cruelty are in their habitations.*

O my ſoul, come not thou into their ſecret, unto their aſſembly, mine honour, be not thou united; for in their anger they ſlew a man, and in their ſelf-will they digged down a wall.

Curſed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel. I will divide them in JACOB, *and ſcatter them in* ISRAEL.

I KNOW very well, that the church hath been often cenſured for keeping holy this day of humiliation, in memory of that excellent king and bleſſed martyr CHARLES I. who rather choſe to die on a ſcaffold than betray the religion and liberties of his people, where-

wherewith GOD and the laws had entruſted him. But, at the ſame time, it is manifeſt that thoſe who make ſuch cenſures are either people without any religion at all, or who derive their principles, and perhaps their birth, from the abettors of thoſe who contrived the murder of that prince, and have not yet ſhewn the world that their opinions are changed. It is alledged, that the obſervation of this day hath ſerved to continue and encreaſe the animoſity and enmity among our country-men, and to diſunite Proteſtants; that a law was made, upon the reſtoration of the martyr's ſon, for a general pardon and oblivion, forbidding all reproaches upon that occaſion; and, ſince none are now alive who were actors or inſtruments in that tragedy, it is thought hard and uncharitable to keep up the memory of it for all generations.

Now, becauſe I conceive moſt of you to be ignorant in many particulars concerning that horrid murder, and the rebellion which preceded it; I will,

Firſt, relate to you ſo much of the ſtory as may be ſufficient for your information:

Secondly, I will tell you the conſequences which this bloody deed had upon theſe kingdoms:

And, laſtly, I will ſhew you to what good uſes this ſolemn day of humiliation may be applied.

As to the firſt, In the reign of this prince, *Charles* the martyr, the power and prerogative of the king were much greater than they

are

are in our times, and ſo had been for at leaſt 700 years before: and the beſt princes we ever had carried their power much further than the bleſſed martyr offered to do in the moſt blameable part of his reign. But, the lands of the crown having been prodigally beſtowed to favourites in the preceding reigns, the ſucceeding kings could not ſupport themſelves without taxes raiſed by parliament; which put them under a neceſſity of frequently calling thoſe aſſemblies: and, the crown-lands being gotten into the hands of the nobility and gentry, beſide the poſſeſſions of which the church had been robbed by *Henry* VIII. power, which always follows property, grew to lean to the ſide of the people, by whom even the juſt rights of the crown were often diſputed.

But further: upon the cruel perſecution raiſed againſt the Proteſtants, under queen *Mary*, among great numbers who fled the kingdom to ſeek for ſhelter, ſeveral went and reſided at *Geneva*, which is a commonwealth governed without a king, and where the religion, contrived by *Calvin*, is without the order of biſhops. When the Proteſtant faith was reſtored by queen *Elizabeth*, thoſe who fled to *Geneva* returned among the reſt home to *England*, and were grown ſo fond of the government and religion of the place they had left, that they uſed all poſſible endeavours to introduce both into their own country; at the ſame time continually preaching and

and railing againſt ceremonies and diſtinct habits of the clergy, taxing whatever they diſliked, as a remnant of Popery, and continued extremely troubleſome to the church and ſtate, under that great queen, as well as her ſucceſſor king *James* I. Theſe people called themſelves *Puritans*, as pretending to a purer faith than thoſe of the church eſtabliſhed. And theſe were the founders of our diſſenters. They did not think it ſufficient to leave all the errors of Popery, but threw off many laudable and edifying inſtitutions of the primitive church, and, at laſt, even the government of biſhops; which, having been ordained by the apoſtles themſelves, had continued without interruption, in all Chriſtian churches, for above 1500 years. And all this they did, not becauſe thoſe things were evil, but becauſe they were kept by the Papiſts. From thence they proceeded, by degrees, to quarrel with the kingly government; becauſe, as I have already ſaid, the city of *Geneva*, to which their fathers had flown for refuge, was a commonwealth, or government of the people.

Theſe Puritans, about the middle of the martyr's reign, were grown to be a conſiderable faction in the kingdom, and in the lower houſe of parliament. They filled the public with the moſt falſe and bitter libels againſt the biſhops and clergy, accuſing chiefly the very beſt among them of Popery; and, at the ſame time, the houſe of commons

grew ſo inſolent and uneaſy to the king, that they refuſed to furniſh him with neceſſary ſupplies for the ſupport of his family, unleſs upon ſuch conditions as he could not ſubmit to without forfeiting his conſcience and honour, and even his coronation-oath. And, in ſuch an extremity, he was forced upon a practice, no way juſtifiable, of raiſing money; for which, however, he had the opinion of the judges on his ſide: for wicked judges there were in thoſe times as well as in ours. There were likewiſe many complaints, and ſometimes juſtly, made againſt the proceedings of a certain court, called the Star-chamber, a judicature of great antiquity; but it had ſuffered ſome corruptions, for which, however, the king was no way anſwerable. I cannot recollect any more ſubjects of complaint with the leaſt ground of reaſon; nor is it needful to recollect them, becauſe this gracious king did, upon the firſt application, redreſs all grievances by an act of parliament, and put it out of his power to do any hardſhips for the future. But that wicked faction in the houſe of commons, not content with all thoſe marks of his juſtice and condeſcenſion, urged ſtill for more; and, joining with a factious party from *Scotland*, who had the ſame fancies in religion, forced him to paſs an act for cutting off the head of his beſt and chief miniſter; and, at the ſame time, compelled him, by tumults and threatnings of a packt rabble, poiſoned with the ſame doctrines, to paſs another

ther law, by which it ſhould not be in his power to diſſolve that parliament without their own conſent. Thus, by the greateſt weakneſs and infatuation that ever poſſeſſed any man's ſpirit, this prince did in effect ſign his own deſtruction. For the houſe of commons, having the reins in their own hands, drove on furiouſly; ſent him every day ſome unreaſonable demand; and, when he refuſed to grant it, made uſe of their own power, and declared that an ordinance of both houſes, without the king's conſent, ſhould be obeyed as a law, contrary to all reaſon and equity, as well as to the fundamental conſtitution of the kingdom.

About this time the rebellion in *Ireland* broke out, wherein his parliament refuſed to aſſiſt him; nor would accept his offer to come hither in perſon to ſubdue thoſe rebels. Theſe, and a thouſand other barbarities, forced the king to ſummon his loyal ſubjects to his ſtandard in his own defence. Meanwhile the *Engliſh* parliament, inſtead of helping the poor Proteſtants here, ſeized on the very army that his majeſty was ſending over for our relief, and turned them againſt their own ſovereign. The rebellion in *England* continued for four or five years: at laſt the king was forced to fly in diſguiſe to the *Scots*, who ſold him to the rebels. And theſe Puritans had the impudent cruelty to try his ſacred perſon in a mock court of juſtice, and cut off his head; which he might have ſaved,

if he would have yielded to betray the conſtitution in church and ſtate.

In this whole proceeding *Simeon* and *Levi* were brethren; the wicked inſinuations of thoſe fanatical preachers ſtirring up the cruelty of the ſoldiers, who, by force of arms, excluded from the houſe every member of parliament, whom they apprehended to bear the leaſt inclination towards an agreement with the king, ſuffering only thoſe to enter who thirſted chiefly for his blood; and this is the very account given by their own writers. From whence it is clear that this prince was, in all reſpects, a real martyr for the true religion and the liberty of the people. That odious parliament had firſt turned the biſhops out of the houſe of lords; in a few years after, they murdered their king; then immediately aboliſhed the whole houſe of lords; and ſo, at laſt, obtained their wiſhes, of having a government of the people, and a new religion, both after the manner of *Geneva*, without a king, a biſhop, or a nobleman; and this they blaſphemouſly called the kingdom of *Chriſt* and his ſaints.

This is enough for your information on the firſt head: I ſhall therefore proceed to the ſecond, wherein I will ſhew you the miſerable conſequences which that abominable rebellion and murder produced in theſe nations.

Firſt, the *Iriſh* rebellion was wholly owing to that wicked *Engliſh* parliament. For the leaders in the *Iriſh* popiſh maſſacre would never

never have dared to ſtir a finger, if they had not been encouraged by that rebellious ſpirit in the *Engliſh* houſe of commons, which they very well knew muſt diſable the king from ſending any ſupplies to his Proteſtant ſubjects here; and, therefore, we may truly ſay that the *Engliſh* parliament held the king's hands, while the *Iriſh* papiſts here were cutting our grandfathers throats.

Secondly, That murderous Puritan-parliament, when they had all in their own power, could not agree upon any one method of ſettling a form either of religion or civil government, but changed every day from ſchiſm to ſchiſm, from hereſy to hereſy, and from one faction to another. From whence aroſe that wild confuſion ſtill continuing in our ſeveral ways of ſerving God, and thoſe abſurd notions of civil power, which have ſo often torn us with factions more than any other nation in *Europe*.

Thirdly, To this rebellion and murder have been owing the riſe and progreſs of Atheiſm among us. For men, obſerving what numberleſs villanies of all kinds were committed during twenty years, under pretence of zeal and the reformation of God's church, were eaſily tempted to doubt that all religion was a mere impoſture: and the ſame ſpirit of infidelity, ſo far ſpread among us at this preſent, is nothing but the fruit of the ſeeds ſown by thoſe rebellious hypocritical ſaints.

Fourthly, The old virtue and loyalty, and generous ſpirit of the *Engliſh* nation, were wholly corrupted by the power, the doctrine, and the example, of thoſe wicked people. Many of the antient nobility were killed, and their families extinct, in defence of their prince and country, or murdered by the mercileſs courts of juſtice. Some of the worſt among them favoured or complied with the reigning iniquities, and not a few of the new ſet created, when the martyr's ſon was reſtored, were ſuch who had drank too deep of the bad principles then prevailing.

Fifthly, The children of the murdered prince were forced to fly, for the ſafety of their lives, to foreign countries; where one of them, at leaſt, I mean king *James* II. was ſeduced to popery; which ended in the loſs of his kingdoms, the miſery and deſolation of this country, and a long and expenſive war abroad. Our deliverance was owing to the valour and conduct of the late king; and, therefore, we ought to remember him with gratitude, but not mingled with blaſphemy or idolatry. It was happy that his intereſts and ours were the ſame: and God gave him greater ſucceſs than our ſins deſerved. But, as a houſe thrown down by a ſtorm is ſeldom rebuilt without ſome change in the foundation; ſo it hath happened, that, ſince the late Revolution, men have ſate much looſer in the true fundamentals both of religion and government, and factions have been more

more violent, treacherous, and malicious than ever, men running naturally from one extreme into another; and, for private ends, taking up thoſe very opinions profeſſed by the leaders in that rebellion, which carried the bleſſed martyr to the ſcaffold.

Sixthly, Another conſequence of this horrid rebellion and murder was, the deſtroying or defacing of ſuch vaſt numbers of God's houſes. *In their ſelf-will they digged down a wall.* If a ſtranger ſhould now travel in *England*, and obſerve the churches in his way, he could not otherwiſe conclude, than that ſome vaſt army of Turks or Heathens had been ſent on purpoſe to ruin and blot out all marks of Chriſtianity. They ſpared neither the ſtatues of ſaints, nor antient prelates, nor kings, nor benefactors; broke down the tombs and monuments of men famous in their generations, ſeiſed the veſſels of ſilver ſet apart for the holieſt uſe, tore down the moſt innocent ornaments both within and without, made the houſes of prayer dens of thieves, or ſtables for cattle. Theſe were the mildeſt effects of Puritan-zeal and devotion for Chriſt; and this was what themſelves affected to call a Thorough reformation. In this kingdom, thoſe ravages were not ſo eaſily ſeen; for, the people here being too poor to raiſe ſuch noble temples, the mean ones we had were not defaced, but totally deſtroyed.

Upon the whole, it is certain, that, although God might have found out many other ways to have puniſhed a ſinful people,

without permitting this rebellion and murder, yet, as the courſe of the world hath run ever ſince, we need ſeek for no other cauſes, of all the public evils we have hitherto ſuffered, or may ſuffer for the future, by the miſconduct of princes, or wickedneſs of the people.

I go on now, upon the third head, to ſhew you to what good uſes this ſolemn day of humiliation may be applied.

Firſt, It may be an inſtruction to princes themſelves, to be careful in the choice of thoſe who are their adviſers in matters of law. All the judges of *England*, except one or two, adviſed the king, that he might legally raiſe money upon the ſubjects for building of ſhips, without conſent of parliament; which, as it was the greateſt overſight of his reign, ſo it proved the principal foundation of all his misfortunes. Princes may likewiſe learn from hence, not to ſacrifiſe a faithful ſervant to the rage of a faction, nor to truſt any body of men with a greater ſhare of power than the laws of the land have appointed them, much leſs to depoſite it in their hands until they ſhall pleaſe to reſtore it.

Secondly, By bringing to mind the tragedy of this day, and the conſequences that have ariſen from it, we ſhall be convinced how neceſſary it is for thoſe in power to curb, in ſeaſon, all ſuch unruly ſpirits as deſire to introduce new doctrines and diſcipline in the church, or new forms of government in the ſtate. Thoſe wicked Puritans began, in queen

Elizabeth's

Elizabeth's time, to quarrel only with ſurplices and other habits, with the ring in matrimony, the croſs in baptiſm, and the like; thence they went on to further matters of higher importance; and, at laſt, they muſt needs have the whole government of the church diſſolved. This great work they compaſſed, firſt, by depriving the biſhops of their ſeats in parliament; then they aboliſhed the whole order; and, at laſt, which was their original deſign, they ſeized on all the church-lands, and divided the ſpoil among themſelves; and, like *Jeroboam*, made prieſts of the very dregs of the people. This was their way of reforming the church. As to the civil government, you have already heard how they modelled it upon the murder of their king, and diſcarding the nobility. Yet, clearly to ſhew what a *Babel* they had built, after twelve years trial and twenty ſeveral ſorts of government, the nation, grown weary of their tyranny, was forced to call in the ſon of him whom thoſe reformers had ſacrifiſed. And thus were *Simeon* and *Levi* divided in *Jacob* and ſcattered in *Iſrael*.

Thirdly, Although the ſucceſſors of thoſe Puritans, I mean our preſent Diſſenters, do not think fit to obſerve this day of humiliation; yet it would be very proper in them, upon ſome occaſions, to renounce, in a public manner, thoſe principles upon which their predeceſſors acted; and it will be more prudent in them to do ſo, becauſe thoſe very Puritans, of whom ours are followers, found, by experience,

perience, that, after they had overturned the church and ſtate, murdered their king, and were projecting what they called a kingdom of the ſaints, they were cheated of the power and poſſeſſions they only panted after, by an upſtart ſect of religion that grew out of their own bowels, who ſubjected them to one tyrant, while they were endeavouring to ſet up a thouſand.

Fourthly, Thoſe who profeſs to be followers of our church eſtabliſhed, and yet preſume in diſcourſe to juſtify or excuſe that rebellion and murder of the king, ought to conſider, how utterly contrary all ſuch opinions are to the doctrine of *Chriſt* and his apoſtles, as well as to the articles of our church, and to the preaching and practice of it's true profeſſors for above an hundred years. Of late times, indeed, and I ſpeak it with grief of heart, we have heard even ſermons of a ſtrange nature: although reaſon would make one think it a very unaccountable way of procuring favour under a monarchy, by palliating and leſſening the guilt of thoſe who murdered the beſt of kings in cold blood, and, for a time, deſtroyed the very monarchy itſelf. Pray God, we may never more hear ſuch doctrine from the pulpit, nor have it ſcattered about in print, to poiſon the people.

Fifthly, Some general knowledge of this horrid rebellion and murder, with the conſequences they had upon theſe nations, may be a warning to our people not to believe a lie,

lie, and to miſtruſt thoſe deluding ſpirits, who, under pretence of a purer and more reformed religion, would lead them from their duty to God and the laws. Politicians may ſay what they pleaſe, but it is no hard thing at all for the meaneſt perſon, who hath common underſtanding, to know whether he be well or ill governed. If he be freely allowed to follow his trade and calling; if he be ſecure in his property, and hath the benefit of the law to defend himſelf againſt injuſtice and oppreſſion; if his religion be different from that of his country, and the government think fit to tolerate it (which he may be very ſecure of, let it be what it will); he ought to be fully ſatisfied, and give no offence, by writing or diſcourſe, to the worſhip eſtabliſhed, as the diſſenting preachers are too apt to do. But, if he hath any new viſions of his own, it is his duty to be quiet, and poſſeſs them in ſilence, without diſturbing the community by a furious zeal for making proſelytes. This was the folly and madneſs of thoſe antient Puritan fanatics: they muſt needs overturn heaven and earth, violate all the laws of God and man, make their country a field of blood, to propagate whatever wild or wicked opinions came into their heads, declaring all their abſurdities and blaſphemies to proceed from the Holy Ghoſt.

To conclude this head. In anſwer to that objection of keeping up animoſity and hatred

tred between Proteſtants, by the obſervation of this day; if there be any ſect, or ſort of people among us, who profeſs the ſame principles in religion and government which thoſe Puritan rebels put in practice, I think it is the intereſt of all thoſe who love the church and king, to keep up as ſtrong a party againſt them as poſſible, until they ſhall, in a body, renounce all thoſe wicked opinions upon which their predeceſſors acted, to the diſgrace of Chriſtianity and the perpetual infamy of the *Engliſh* nation.

When we accuſe the Papiſts of the horrid doctrine, that no faith ought to be kept with heretics, they deny it to a man; and yet we juſtly think it dangerous to truſt them, becauſe we know their actions have been ſometimes ſuitable to that opinion: but the followers of thoſe who beheaded the martyr have not yet renounced their principles; and, till they do, they may be juſtly ſuſpected: neither will the bare name of Proteſtants ſet them right. For, ſurely, *Chriſt* requires more from us than a profeſſion of hating Popery, which a Turk or an Atheiſt may do as well as a Proteſtant.

If an enſlaved people ſhould recover their liberty, from a tyrannical power of any ſort, who could blame them for commemorating their deliverance by a day of joy and thankſgiving? And doth not the deſtruction of a church, a king, and three kingdoms, by the artifices, hypocriſy, and cruelty of a wicked race of ſoldiers and preachers,

preachers, and other ſons of *Belial*, equally require a ſolemn time of humiliation? eſpecially ſince the conſequences of that bloody ſcene ſtill continue, as I have already ſhewn, in their effects upon us.

Thus I have done with the three heads I propoſed to diſcourſe on. But, before I conclude, I muſt give a caution to thoſe who hear me, that they may not think I am pleading for abſolute unlimited power in any one man. It is true, all power is from God, and, as the apoſtle ſays, *The powers that be are ordained of God*; but this is in the ſame ſenſe that all we have is from God, our food and raiment, and whatever poſſeſſion we hold by lawful means. Nothing can be meant in thoſe, or any other words of Scripture, to juſtify tyrannical power, or the ſavage cruelties of thoſe Heathen emperors who lived in the time of the apoſtles: And ſo St. *Paul* concludes, *The powers that be are ordained of God*: For what? why, *for the puniſhment of evil doers, and the praiſe, the reward, of them that do well.* There is no more inward value in the greateſt emperor, than in the meaneſt of his ſubjects: His body is compoſed of the ſame ſubſtance, the ſame parts, and with the ſame or greater infirmities: His education is generally worſe, by flattery, and idleneſs and luxury, and thoſe evil diſpoſitions that early power is apt to give. It is therefore againſt common ſenſe, that his private perſonal in-

tereſt, or pleaſure, ſhould be put in the balance with the ſafety of millions, every one of which is equal by nature, equal in the ſight of God, equally capable of ſalvation; and it is for their ſakes, not his own, that he is entruſted with the government over them. He hath as high truſt as can ſafely be repoſed in one man, and, if he diſcharge it as he ought, he deſerves all the honour and duty that a mortal may be allowed to receive. His perſonal failings we have nothing to do with, and errors in government are to be imputed to his miniſters in the ſtate. To what height thoſe errors may be ſuffered to proceed, is not the buſineſs of this day, or this place, or of my function, to determine. When oppreſſions grow too great and univerſal to be borne, nature or neceſſity may find a remedy. But, if a private perſon reaſonably expects pardon, upon his amendment, for all faults that are not capital, it would be an hard condition indeed, not to give the ſame allowance to a prince; who muſt ſee with other mens eyes, and hear with other mens ears, which are often wilfully blind and deaf. Such was the condition of the martyr, and is ſo, in ſome degree, of all other princes. Yet, this we may juſtly ſay in defence of the common people, in all civilized nations, that it muſt be a very bad government indeed, where the body of the ſubjects will not rather chuſe to live in peace and obedience, than take up arms

arms on pretence of faults in the administration, unleſs where the vulgar are deluded by falſe preachers to grow fond of new viſions and fancies in religion, which managed by dextrous men, for ſiniſter ends of malice, envy or ambition, have often made whole nations run mad. This was exactly the caſe in the whole progreſs of that great rebellion, and the murder of king *Charles* I.; but the late Revolution under the prince of *Orange* was occaſioned by a proceeding directly contrary, the oppreſſion and injuſtice there beginning from the throne. For that unhappy prince, king *James* II. did not only invade our laws and liberties, but would have forced a falſe religion upon his ſubjects, for which he was deſervedly rejected, ſince there could be no other remedy found, or at leaſt agreed on. But, under the bleſſed martyr, the deluded people would have forced many falſe religions, not only on their fellow ſubjects, but even upon their ſovereign himſelf, and at the ſame time invaded all his undoubted rights; and, becauſe he would not comply, raiſed a horrid rebellion, wherein, by the permiſſion of God, they prevailed, and put their ſovereign to death, like a common criminal, in the face of the world.

Therefore, thoſe who ſeem to think they cannot otherwiſe juſtify the late Revolution, and the change of the ſucceſſion, than by leſſening the guilt of the Puritans, do certainly put the greateſt affront imaginable up-

on the preſent powers, by ſuppoſing any relation, or reſemblance, between that rebellion and the late Revolution; and, conſequently, that the preſent eſtabliſhment is to be defended by the ſame arguments which thoſe uſurpers made uſe of, who, to obtain their tyranny, trampled under foot all the laws both of God and man.

One great deſign of my diſcourſe was to give you warning againſt running into either extreme of two bad opinions, with relation to obedience. As kings are called gods upon earth, ſo ſome would allow them an equal power with God, over all laws and ordinances; and that the liberty, and property, and life, and religion of the ſubject, depended wholly upon the breath of the prince; which however, I hope, was never meant by thoſe who pleaded for paſſive obedience. And this opinion hath not been confined to that party which was firſt charged with it, but hath ſometimes gone over to the other, to ſerve many an evil turn of intereſt or ambition, who have been as ready to enlarge prerogative, where they could find their own account, as the higheſt maintainers of it.

On the other ſide, ſome look upon kings as anſwerable for every miſtake or omiſſion in government, and bound to comply with the moſt unreaſonable demands of an unquiet faction, which was the caſe of thoſe who perſecuted the bleſſed martyr of this day from his throne to the ſcaffold.

Between

Between theſe two extremes, it is eaſy, from what hath been ſaid, to chuſe a middle; to be good and loyal ſubjects, yet, according to your power, faithful aſſertors of your religion and liberties. To avoid all broachers and preachers of new-fangled doctrines in the church; to be ſtrict obſervers of the laws, which cannot be juſtly taken from you without your own conſent. In ſhort, *to obey God and the king, and meddle not with thoſe who are given to change.*

Which that you may all do, *&c.*

AN
ACCOUNT
OF THE
COURT and EMPIRE of JAPAN.

WRITTEN IN MDCCXXVIII.

REGOGE was the thirty-fourth Emperor of *Japan*, and began his reign in the year 341 of the Chriſtian æra, ſucceeding to *Nena*, a princeſs who governed with great felicity.

There had been a revolution in that empire about twenty-ſix years before, which made ſome breaches in the hereditary line; and *Regoge*, ſucceſſor to *Nena*, although of the royal family, was a diſtant relation.

There were two violent parties in the empire, which began in the time of the revolution above-mentioned; and, at the death of the empreſs *Nena*, were in the higheſt degree of animoſity, each charging the other with a deſign of introducing new Gods, and changing the civil conſtitution. The names of theſe two parties were Huſiges and Yortes. The latter were thoſe whom *Nena*, the late empreſs, moſt favoured towards the end of her reign, and by whoſe advice ſhe governed.

The

The Huſige faction, enraged at their loſs of power, made private applications to *Regoge* during the life of the empreſs; which prevailed ſo far, that, upon her death, the new emperor wholly diſgraced the Yortes, and employed only the Huſiges in all his affairs. The *Japaneſe* author highly blames his imperial majeſty's proceeding in this affair; becauſe it was allowed, on all hands, that he had then a happy opportunity of reconciling parties for ever by a moderating ſcheme. But he, on the contrary, began his reign by openly diſgracing the principal and moſt popular Yortes, ſome of which had been chiefly inſtrumental in raiſing him to the throne. By this miſtaken ſtep, he occaſioned a rebellion; which, although it were ſoon quelled by ſome very ſurpriſing turns of fortune, yet the fear, whether real or pretended, of new attempts, engaged him in ſuch immenſe charges, that, inſtead of clearing any part of that prodigious debt left on his kingdom by the former war, which might have been done by any tolerable management, in twelve years of the moſt profound peace; he left his empire loaden with a vaſt addition to the old incumbrance.

This prince, before he ſucceeded to the empire of *Japan*, was king of *Tedſu*, a dominion ſeated on the continent, to the weſtſide of *Japan*. *Tedſu* was the place of his birth, and more beloved by him than his new empire; for there he ſpent ſome months almoſt every year, and thither was ſuppoſed

to have conveyed great ſums of money, ſaved out of his imperial revenues.

There were two maritime towns of great importance bordering upon *Tedſu*: of theſe he purchaſed a litigated title; and, to ſupport it, was forced not only to entrench deeply on his *Japaneſe* revenues, but to engage in alliances very dangerous to the *Japaneſe* empire.

Japan was at that time a limited monarchy, which ſome authors are of opinion was introduced there by a detachment from the numerous army of *Brennus*, who ravaged a great part of *Aſia*; and thoſe of them who fixed in *Japan* left behind them that kind of military inſtitution, which the Northern people, in enſuing ages, carried through moſt parts of *Europe*; the generals becoming kings, the great officers a ſenate of nobles, with a repreſentative from every centenary of private ſoldiers; and, in the aſſent of the majority in theſe two bodies, confirmed by the general, the legiſlature conſiſted.

I need not farther explain a matter ſo univerſally known; but return to my ſubject.

The Huſige faction, by a groſs piece of negligence in the Yortes, had ſo far inſinuated themſelves and their opinions into the favour of *Regoge* before he came to the empire, that this prince firmly believed them to be his only true friends, and the others his mortal

mortal enemies. By this opinion he governed all the actions of his reign.

The emperor died ſuddenly, in his journey to *Tedſu*; where, according to his uſual cuſtom, he was going to paſs the ſummer.

This prince, during his whole reign, continued an abſolute ſtranger to the language, the manners, the laws, and the religion of *Japan*; and, paſſing his whole time among old miſtreſſes, or a few privados, left the whole management of the empire in the hands of a miniſter, upon the condition of being made eaſy in his perſonal revenues and the management of parties in the ſenate. His laſt miniſter, who governed in the moſt arbitrary manner for ſeveral years, he was thought to hate more than he did any other perſon in *Japan*, except his only ſon, the heir to the empire. The diſlike he bore to the former was, becauſe the miniſter, under pretence that he could not govern the ſenate without diſpoſing of employments among them, would not ſuffer his maſter to oblige one ſingle perſon, but diſpoſed of all to his own relations and dependents. But, as to that continued and virulent hatred he bore to the prince his ſon, from the beginning of his reign to his death, the hiſtorian hath not accounted for it, further than by various conjectures, which do not deſerve to be related.

The miniſter above-mentioned was of a family not contemptible, had been early a ſenator, and from his youth a mortal enemy to the Yortes. He had been formerly diſ-

graced in the ſenate, for ſome frauds in the management of a public truſt. He was perfectly ſkilled, by long practice, in the ſenatorial forms; and dextrous in the purchaſing of votes, from thoſe who could find their accounts better in complying with his meaſures, than they could probably loſe by any tax that might be charged on the kingdom. He ſeemed to fail, in point of policy, by not concealing his gettings, never ſcrupling openly to lay out vaſt ſums of money in paintings, buildings, and purchaſing eſtates; when it was known, that, upon his firſt coming into buſineſs, upon the death of the empreſs *Nena*, his fortune was but inconſiderable. He had the moſt boldneſs and the leaſt magnanimity that ever any mortal was endowed with. By enriching his relations, friends, and dependants, in a moſt exorbitant manner, he was weak enough to imagine that he had provided a ſupport againſt an evil day. He had the beſt among all falſe appearances of courage, which was a moſt unlimited aſſurance, whereby he would ſwagger the boldeſt men into a dread of his power; but had not the ſmalleſt portion of magnanimity, growing jealous, and diſgracing every man, who was known to bear the leaſt civility to thoſe he diſliked. He had ſome ſmall ſmattering in books, but no manner of politeneſs; nor, in his whole life, was ever known to advance any one perſon, upon the ſcore of wit, learning, or abilities for buſineſs. The whole ſyſtem of his miniſtry was corruption; and he

he never gave bribe or penſion, without frankly telling the receivers what he expected from them, and threatening them to put an end to his bounty, if they failed to comply in every circumſtance.

A few months before the emperor's death, there was a deſign concerted between ſome eminent perſons of both parties, whom the deſperate ſtate of the empire had united, to accuſe the miniſter at the firſt meeting of a new-choſen ſenate, which was then to aſſemble according to the laws of that empire. And it was believed, that the vaſt expence he muſt be at in chuſing an aſſembly proper for his purpoſe, added to the low ſtate of the treaſury, the encreaſing number of penſioners, the great diſcontent of the people, and the perſonal hatred of the emperor; would, if well laid open in the ſenate, be of weight enough to ſink the miniſter, when it ſhould appear to his very penſioners and creatures that he could not ſupply them much longer.

While this ſcheme was in agitation, an account came of the emperor's death; and the prince his ſon, with univerſal joy, mounted the throne of *Japan*.

The new emperor had always lived a private life, during the reign of his father; who, in his annual abſence, never truſted him more than once with the reins of government, which he held ſo evenly that he became too popular to be confided in any more. He was thought not unfavourable to the Yortes, at leaſt not altogether to approve the virulence wherewith his father pro-

ceeded againſt them; and therefore, immediately upon his ſucceſſion, the principal perſons of that denomination came, in ſeveral bodies, to kiſs the hem of his garment, whom he received with great courteſy, and ſome of them with particular marks of diſtinction.

The prince, during the reign of his father, having not been truſted with any public charge, employed his leiſure in learning the language, the religion, the cuſtoms, and diſpoſition of the *Japaneſe*; wherein he received great information, among others, from *Nomptoc*, maſter of his finances, and preſident of the ſenate, who ſecretly hatred *Lelow-Aw*, the miniſter; and likewiſe from *Ramuneb*, a moſt eminent ſenator; who, deſparing to do any good with the father, had, with great induſtry, ſkill, and decency, uſed his endeavour to inſtil good principles into the young prince.

Upon the news of the former emperor's death, a grand council was ſummoned of courſe, where little paſſed beſides directing the ceremony of proclaiming the ſucceſſor. But, in ſome days after, the new emperor, having conſulted with thoſe perſons in whom he could chiefly confide, and maturely conſidered in his own mind the preſent ſtate of his affairs, as well as the diſpoſition of his people, convoked another aſſembly of his council; wherein, after ſome time ſpent in general buſineſs, ſuitable to the preſent emergency, he directed *Lelop-Aw* to give him, in as ſhort terms as he conveniently could, an account of the nation's debts, of his manage-

ment in the ſenate, and his negotiations with foreign courts: Which that miniſter having delivered, according to his uſual manner, with much aſſurance and little ſatisfaction, the emperor deſired to be fully ſatisfied in the following particulars.

Whether the vaſt expence of chuſing ſuch members into the ſenate, as would be content to do the public buſineſs, were abſolutely neceſſary?

Whether thoſe members, thus choſen in, would croſs and impede the neceſſary courſe of affairs, unleſs they were ſupplied with great ſums of money and continued penſions?

Whether the ſame corruption and perverſeneſs were to be expected from the nobles?

Whether the empire of *Japan* were in ſo low a condition, that the imperial envoys, at foreign courts, muſt be forced to purchaſe alliances, or prevent a war by immenſe bribes, given to the miniſters of all the neighbouring princes?

Why the debts of the empire were ſo prodigiouſly advanced, in a peace of twelve years at home and abroad?

Whether the Yortes were univerſally enemies to the religion and laws of the empire, and to the imperial family now reigning?

Whether thoſe perſons, whoſe revenues conſiſt in lands, do not give ſurer pledges of fidelity to the public, and are more intereſted in the welfare of the empire, than others whoſe fortunes conſiſt only in money?

And

And becauſe *Lelop Aw*, for ſeveral years paſt, had engroſſed the whole adminiſtration, the emperor ſignified, that from him alone he expected an anſwer.

This miniſter, who had ſagacity enough to cultivate an intereſt in the young prince's family during the late emperor's life, received early intelligence from one of his emiſſaries of what was intended at the council, and had ſufficient time to frame as plauſible an anſwer as his cauſe and conduct would allow. However, having deſired a few minutes to put his thoughts in order, he delivered them in the following manner:

"SIR,

"Upon this ſhort unexpected warning, to "anſwer your imperial majeſty's queries, I "ſhould be wholly at a loſs, in your maje- "ſty's auguſt preſence, and that of this moſt "noble aſſembly, if I were armed with a "weaker defence than my own loyalty and "integrity, and the proſperous ſucceſs of "my endeavours.

"It is well known that the death of the "empreſs *Nena* happened in a moſt mira- "culous juncture; and that, if ſhe had lived "two months longer, your illuſtrious family "would have been deprived of your right, "and we ſhould have ſeen an uſurper upon "your throne, who would have wholly chang- "ed the conſtitution of this empire, both "civil and ſacred; and, although that em- "preſs died in a moſt opportune ſeaſon, yet

" the peaceable entrance of your majeſty's
" father was affected by a continual ſeries of
" miracles. The truth of this appears by
" that unnatural rebellion which the Yor-
" tes raiſed, without the leaſt provocation,
" in the firſt year of the late emperor's reign,
" which may be ſufficient to convince your
" majeſty, that every ſoul of that denomi-
" nation was, is, and will be for ever, a fa-
" vourer of the pretender, a mortal enemy
" to your illuſtrious family, and an intro-
" ducer of new Gods into the empire. Upon
" this foundation was built the whole con-
" duct of our affairs; and, ſince a great
" majority of the kingdom was at that time
" reckoned to favour the Yortes faction, who,
" in the regular courſe of elections, muſt cer-
" tainly have been choſen members of the ſenate
" then to be convoked; it was neceſſary, by
" the force of money, to influence elections in
" ſuch a manner, that your majeſty's father
" might have a ſufficient number to weigh
" down the ſcale on his ſide, and thereby
" carry on thoſe meaſures which could only
" ſecure him and his family in the poſſeſſion
" of the empire. To ſupport this original
" plan, I came into the ſervice: but the
" members of the ſenate, knowing themſelves
" every day more neceſſary, upon the chuſing
" of a new ſenate, I found the charges to
" encreaſe; and that, after they were choſen,
" they inſiſted upon an increaſe of their pen-
" ſions; becauſe they well knew that the
" work could not be carried on without

" them;

" them: and I was more general in my do-
" natives, becauſe I thought it was more for
" the honor of the crown, that every vote
" ſhould paſs without a diviſion; and that,
" when a debate was propoſed, it ſhould
" immediately be quaſhed by putting the
" queſtion.

" Sir, The date of the preſent ſenate is
" expired, and your imperial majeſty is now
" to convoke a new one; which, I confeſs,
" will be ſomewhat more expenſive than the
" laſt, becauſe the Yortes, from your favour-
" able reception, have begun to re-aſſume a
" ſpirit whereof the country had ſome intel-
" ligence; and we know the majority of the
" people, without proper management, would
" be ſtill in that fatal intereſt. However, I
" dare undertake, with the charge only of
" four hundred thouſand ſprangs [*a*], to re-
" turn as great a majority of ſenators of the
" true ſtamp, as your majeſty can deſire. As
" to the ſums of money paid in foreign courts,
" I hope, in ſome years, to eaſe the nation
" of them, when we and our neighbours
" come to a good underſtanding. However,
" I will be bold to ſay, they are cheaper than
" a war, where your majeſty is to be a prin-
" cipal.

" The penſions, indeed, to ſenators and
" other perſons, muſt needs increaſe, from
" the reſtiveneſs of ſome, and ſcrupulous na-
" ture of others; and the new members, who

[*a*] About a million ſterling.

" are

" are unpractiſed, muſt have better encour-
" agement. However, I dare undertake to
" bring the eventual charge within eight
" hundred thouſand ſprangs. But to make
" this eaſy, there ſhall be new funds raiſed,
" of which I have ſeveral ſchemes ready,
" without taxing bread or fleſh, which ſhall
" be referred to more preſſing occaſions.

" Your majeſty knows it is the laudable
" cuſtom of all Eaſtern princes, to leave the
" whole management of affairs, both civil
" and military, to their viſirs. The appoint-
" ments for your family, and private purſe,
" ſhall exceed thoſe of your predeceſſors:
" You ſhall be at no trouble, further than
" to appear ſometimes in council, and leave
" the reſt to me: you ſhall hear no clamour
" or complaints: your ſenate ſhall, upon oc-
" caſions, declare you the beſt of princes, the
" father of your country, the arbiter of *Aſia*,
" the defender of the oppreſſed, and the de-
" light of mankind.

" Sir, Hear not thoſe who would moſt
" falſely, impiouſly, and maliciouſly inſinu-
" ate, that your government can be carried
" on without that wholeſome, neceſſary ex-
" pedient, of ſharing the public revenue with
" your faithful deſerving ſenators. This, I
" know, my enemies are pleaſed to call bri-
" bery and corruption. Be it ſo: but I in-
" ſiſt, that, without this bribery and corrup-
" tion, the wheels of government will not
" turn, or at leaſt will be apt to take fire,
" like other wheels, unleſs they be greaſed

" at

" at proper times. If an angel from hea-
" ven ſhould deſcend, to govern this empire
" upon any other ſcheme than what our
" enemies call corruption, he muſt return
" from whence he came, and leave the work
" undone.

" Sir, It is well known we are a trading
" nation, and conſequently cannot thrive in
" a bargain where nothing is to be gained.
" The poor electors, who run from their
" ſhops, or the plough, for the ſervice of
" their country, are they not to be conſider-
" ed for their labour and their loyalty? The
" candidates, who, with the hazard of their
" perſons, the loſs of their characters, and
" the ruin of their fortunes, are preferred to
" the ſenate, in a country where they are
" ſtrangers, before the very lords of the ſoil;
" are they not to be rewarded for their zeal
" to your majeſty's ſervice, and qualified to
" live in your metropolis as becomes the luſ-
" tre of their ſtations?

" Sir, If I have given great numbers of
" the moſt profitable employments among
" my own relations and neareſt allies, it was
" not out of any partiality, but becauſe I
" know them beſt, and can beſt depend up-
" on them. I have been at the pains to
" mould and cultivate their opinions. Abler
" heads might probably have been found,
" but they would not be equally under my
" direction. A huntſman, who hath the ab-
" ſolute command of his dogs, will hunt

" more

" more effectually than with a better pack,
" to whoſe manner and cry he is a ſtranger.
" Sir, Upon the whole, I will appeal to
" all thoſe who beſt knew your royal father,
" whether that bleſſed monarch had ever one
" anxious thought for the public, or diſap-
" pointment, or uneaſineſs, or want of mo-
" ney for all his occaſions, during the time
" of my adminiſtration? And, how happy
" the people confeſſed themſelves to be un-
" der ſuch a king, I leave to their own nu-
" merous addreſſes; which all politicians
" will allow to be the moſt infallible proof
" how any nation ſtands affected to their ſo-
" vereign."

Lelop-Aw, having ended his ſpeech and ſtruck his forehead thrice againſt the table, as the cuſtom is in *Japan*, ſate down with great complacency of mind, and much applauſe of his adherents, as might be obſerved by their countenances and their whiſpers. But the emperor's behaviour was remarkable; for, during the whole harangue, he appeared equally attentive and uneaſy. After a ſhort pauſe, his majeſty commanded that ſome other counſellor ſhould deliver his thoughts, either to confirm or object againſt what had been ſpoken by *Lelop-Aw*.

A LET-

A LETTER TO THE WRITER OF THE OCCASIONAL PAPER.

[Vide the CRAFTSMAN, 1727.]

SIR,

ALTHOUGH, in one of your papers, you declare an intention of turning them, during the dead ſeaſon of the year, into accounts of domeſtic and foreign intelligence; yet I think we, your correſpondents, ſhould not underſtand your meaning ſo literally, as if you intended to reject inſerting any other paper, which might probably be uſeful for the public. Neither, indeed, am I fully convinced, that this new courſe you reſolve to take will render you more ſecure than your former laudable practice, of inſerting ſuch ſpeculations as were ſent you by ſeveral well-wiſhers to the good of the kingdom; however grating ſuch notices might be to ſome, who

who wanted neither power nor inclination to reſent them at your coſt. For, ſince there is a direct law againſt ſpreading falſe news, if you ſhould venture to tell us in one of the Craftſmen that the dey of *Algiers* had got the tooth-ach, or the king of *Bantam* had taken a purge, and the facts ſhould be contradicted in ſucceeding packets; I do not ſee what plea you could offer to avoid the utmoſt penalty of the law, becauſe you are not ſuppoſed to be very gracious among thoſe who are moſt able to hurt you.

Beſides, as I take your intentions to be ſincerely meant for the public ſervice, ſo your original method of entertaining and inſtructing us will be more general and more uſeful in this ſeaſon of the year, when people are retired to amuſements more cool, more innocent, and much more reaſonable than thoſe they have left; when their paſſions are ſubſided or ſuſpended; when they have no occaſions of inflaming themſelves, or each other; where they will have opportunities of hearing common ſenſe, every day in the week, from their tenants or neighbouring farmers, and thereby be qualified, in hours of rain or leiſure, to read and conſider the advice or information you ſhall ſend them.

Another weighty reaſon why you ſhould not alter your manner of writing, by dwindling to a news-monger, is becauſe there is no ſuſpenſion of arms agreed on between you and your adverſaries, who fight with a ſort of weapons which have two wonderful qualities,

that they are never to be worn out, and are beſt wielded by the weakeſt hands, and which the poverty of our language forceth me to call by the trite appellations of Scurrility, Slander, and Billingſgate. I am far from thinking that theſe gentlemen, or rather their employers (for the operators themſelves are too obſcure to be gueſſed at) ſhould be anſwered after their own way, although it were poſſible to drag them out of their obſcurity; but I wiſh you would enquire what real uſe ſuch a conduct is to the cauſe they have been ſo largely paid to defend. The author of the three firſt Occaſional Letters, a perſon altogether unknown, hath been thought to glance (for what reaſons he beſt knows) at ſome public proceedings, as if they were not agreeable to his private opinions. In anſwer to this, the pamphleteers retained on the other ſide are inſtructed by their ſuperiors, to ſingle out an adverſary whoſe abilities they moſt have reaſon to apprehend, and to load himſelf, his family, and friends, with all the infamy that a perpetual converſation in *Bridewell*, *Newgate*, and the ſtews, could furniſh them; but, at the ſame time, ſo very unluckily, that the moſt diſtinguiſhing parts of their characters ſtrike directly in the face of their benefactor, whoſe idea preſenting itſelf along with his guineas perpetually to their imagination, occaſioned this deſperate blunder.

But, allowing this heap of ſlander to be truth, and applied to the proper perſon; what

what is to be the conſequence? Are our public debts to be the ſooner paid; the corruptions that author complains of to be the ſooner cured; an honourable peace, or a glorious war, the more likely to enſue; trade to flouriſh; the *Oſtend* company to be demoliſhed; *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon* left entire in our poſſeſſion: the balance of *Europe* to be preſerved; the malignity of parties to be for ever at an end; none but perſons of merit, virtue, genius, and learning to be encouraged? I aſk whether any of theſe effects will follow upon the publication of this author's libel, even ſuppoſing he could prove every ſyllable of it to be true?

At the ſame time, I am well aſſured, that the only reaſon of aſcribing thoſe papers to a particular perſon, is built upon the information of a certain pragmatical ſpy of quality, well known to act in that capacity by thoſe into whoſe company he inſinuates himſelf; a ſort of perſons who, although without much love, eſteem, or dread of people in preſent power, yet have too much common prudence to ſpeak their thoughts with freedom before ſuch an intruder; who, therefore, impoſes groſsly upon his maſters, if he makes them pay for any thing but his own conjectures.

It is a grievous miſtake in a great miniſter to neglect or deſpiſe, much more to irritate, men of genius and learning. I have heard one of the wiſeſt perſons in my time obſerve, that an adminiſtration was to be known and judged

judged by the talents of thoſe who appeared their advocates in print. This I muſt never allow to be a general rule; yet I cannot but think it prodigiouſly unfortunate, that, among the anſwerers, defenders, repliers, and panegyriſts, ſtarted up in defence of preſent perſons and proceedings, there hath not yet ariſen one whoſe labours we can read with patience, however we may applaud their loyalty and good-will. And all this with the advantages of conſtant ready pay, of natural and acquired venom, and a grant of the whole fund of ſlander, to range over and riot in as they pleaſe.

On the other ſide, a turbulent writer of Occaſional Letters, and other vexatious papers, in conjunction perhaps with one or two friends as bad as himſelf, is able to diſconcert, teaze, and ſour us whenever he thinks fit, merely by the ſtrength of genius and truth; and after ſo dextrous a manner, that, when we are vexed to the ſoul, and well know the reaſons why we are ſo, we are aſhamed to own the firſt, and cannot tell how to expreſs the other. In a word, it ſeems to me that all the writers are on one ſide, and all the railers on the other.

However, I do not pretend to aſſert, that it is impoſſible for an ill miniſter to find men of wit who may be drawn, by a very valuable conſideration, to undertake his defence; but the misfortune is, that the heads of ſuch writers rebel againſt their hearts; their genius forſakes

forſakes them, when they would offer to proſtitute it to the ſervice of injuſtice, corruption, party-rage, and falſe repreſentations of things and perſons.

And this is the beſt argument I can offer in defence of great men, who have been of late ſo very unhappy in the choice of their paper-champions; although I cannot much commend their good huſbandry, in thoſe exorbitant payments of twenty and ſixty guineas at a time for a ſcurvy pamphlet; ſince the ſort of work they require is what will all come within the talents of any one who hath enjoyed the happineſs of a very bad education, hath kept the vileſt company, is endowed with a ſervile ſpirit, is maſter of an empty purſe, and a heart full of malice.

But, to ſpeak the truth in ſoberneſs; it ſhould ſeem a little hard, ſince the old Whiggiſh principle hath been recalled of ſtanding up for the liberty of the preſs, to a degree that no man, for ſeveral years paſt, durſt venture out a thought which did not ſquare to a point with the maxims and practices that then prevailed: I ſay, it is a little hard that the vileſt mercenaries ſhould be countenanced, preferred, rewarded, for diſcharging their brutalities againſt men of honour, only upon a bare conjecture.

If it ſhould happen that theſe profligates have attacked an innocent perſon, I aſk what ſatisfaction can their hirers give in return? Not all the wealth raked together by the moſt corrupt rapacious miniſters, in the longeſt

courſe of unlimited power, would be ſufficient to atone for the hundredth part of ſuch an injury.

In the common way of thinking, it is a ſituation ſufficient in all conſcience to ſatisfy a reaſonable ambition, for a private perſon to command the laws, the forces, the revenues of a great kingdom, to reward and advance his followers and flatterers as he pleaſes, and to keep his enemies (real or imaginary) in the duſt. In ſuch an exaltation, why ſhould he be at the trouble to make uſe of fools to ſound his praiſes (becauſe I always thought the lion was hard ſet, when he choſe the aſs for his trumpeter) or knaves to revenge his quarrel, at the expence of innocent mens reputations?

With all thoſe advantages, I cannot ſee why perſons, in the height of power, ſhould be under the leaſt concern on account of their reputation, for which they have no manner of uſe; or to ruin that of others, which may perhaps be the only poſſeſſion their enemies have left them. Suppoſing times of corruption, which I am very far from doing, if a writer diſplays them in their proper colours, does he do any thing worſe than ſending cuſtomers to the ſhop? Here only, at the ſign of the *Brazen Head*, are to be ſold places and penſions: beware of counterfeits, and take care of miſtaking the door.

For my own part, I think it very unneceſſary to give the character of a great miniſter in the fulneſs of his power, becauſe it

it is a thing that naturally does itſelf, and is obvious to the eyes of all mankind; for his perſonal qulities are all derived into the moſt minute parts of his adminiſtration. If this be juſt, prudent, regular, impartial, intent upon the public good, prepared for preſent exigencies, and provident of the future; ſuch is the director himſelf in his private capacity: if it be rapacious, inſolent, partial, palliating long and deep diſeaſes of the public with empirical remedies, falſe, diſguiſed, impudent, malicious, revengeful; you ſhall infallibly find the private life of the conductor to anſwer in every point, nay, what is more, every twinge of the gout or gravel will be felt in their conſequences by the community: as the thief-catcher, upon viewing a houſe broke open, could immediately diſtinguiſh, from the manner of the workmanſhip, by what hand it was done.

It is hard to form a maxim againſt which an exception is not ready to ſtart up: So, in the preſent caſe, where the miniſter grows enormouſly rich, the public is proportionably poor; as in a private family, the ſteward always thrives the faſteſt, when his lord is running out. * * * * * * * * * * *

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OF

PUBLIC ABSURDITIES

IN ENGLAND.

IT is a common topic of ſatire, which you will hear not only from the mouths of miniſters of ſtate, but of every whiffler in office, that half a dozen obſcure fellows, over a bottle of wine or a diſh of coffee, ſhall preſume to cenſure the actions of parliaments and councils, to form ſchemes of government, and new model the commonwealth; and this uſually ridiculed as a pragmatical diſpoſition to politics, in the very nature and genius of the people. It may poſſibly be true: And yet I am groſsly deceived if any ſober man, of very moderate talents, when he reflects upon the many ridiculous hurtful maxims, cuſtoms, and general rules of life, which prevail in this kingdom, would not with great reaſon be tempted, according to the preſent turn of his humour, either to laugh, lament, or be angry; or, if he were ſanguine engough, perhaps to dream of a remedy. It is the miſtake of wiſe and good men, that they expect more reaſon and virtue from human nature, than, taking it in the bulk, it is in any ſort capable of. Whoever hath been preſent at councils or aſſemblies of any ſort, if he be a man of com-

common prudence, cannot but have obſerved ſuch reſults and opinions to have frequently paſſed a majority, as he would be aſhamed to advance in private converſation. I ſay nothing of cruelty, oppreſſion, injuſtice, and the like, becauſe theſe are fairly to be accounted for in all aſſemblies, as beſt gratifying the paſſions and intereſts of leaders; which is a point of ſuch high conſideration, that all others muſt give place to it. But I would be underſtood here to ſpeak only of opinions ridiculous, fooliſh, and abſurd; with concluſions and actions ſuitable to them, at the ſame time, when the moſt reaſonable propoſitions are often unanimouſly rejected.

And, as all aſſemblies of men are liable to this accuſation, ſo likewiſe there are natural abſurdities from which the wiſeſt ſtates are not exempt, which proceed leſs from the nature of their climate than that of their government; the *Gauls*, the *Britons*, the *Spaniards*, and *Italians*, having retained very little of the characters given them in antient hiſtory.

By theſe and the like reflexions, I have been often led to conſider ſome public abſurdities in our own country, moſt of which are, in my opinion, directly againſt the rules of right reaſon, and are attended with great inconveniences to the ſtate. I ſhall mention ſuch of them as come into memory, without obſerving any method; and I ſhall give my reaſon why I take them to be abſurd in their nature, and pernicious in their conſequence.

It is abſurd that any perſon, who profeſſeth a different form of worſhip from that which is national, ſhould be truſted with a vote for electing members in the houſe of commons. Becauſe every man is full of zeal for his own religion, although he regards not morality; and, therefore, will endeavour to his utmoſt to bring in a repreſentative of his own principles, which, if they be popular, may endanger the religion eſtabliſhed; which, as it hath formerly happened, may alter the whole frame of government.

A ſtanding army in *England*, whether in time of peace or war, is a direct abſurdity. For it is no part of our buſineſs to be a warlike nation, otherwiſe than by our fleets. In foreign wars we have no concern, further than in conjunction with allies, whom we may either aſſiſt by ſea, or by foreign troops paid with our money. But mercenary troops in *England* can be of no uſe, except to awe ſenates, and thereby promote arbitrary power in a monarchy or oligarchy.

That the election of ſenators ſhould be of any charge to the candidates, is an abſurdity; but, that it ſhould be ſo to a miniſtry, is a manifeſt acknowledgement of the worſt deſigns. If a miniſtry intended the ſervice of their prince and country, or well underſtood wherein their own ſecurity beſt conſiſted (as it is impoſſible that a parliament freely elected, according to the original inſtitution, can do any hurt to a tolerable prince or tolerable miniſtry)

ſtry) they would uſe the ſtrongeſt methods to leave the people to their own free choice: the members would then conſiſt of perſons who had beſt eſtates in the neighbourhood or county, or at leaſt never of ſtrangers. And ſurely this is at leaſt full as requiſite a circumſtance to a legiſlator, as to a juryman, who ought to be, if poſſible, *ex vicinio*; ſince ſuch perſons muſt be ſuppoſed the beſt judges of the wants and deſires of their ſeveral boroughs and counties. To chuſe a repreſentative for *Berwick*, whoſe eſtate is at *Land's End*, would have been thought in former times a very great ſoleciſm; how much more as it is at preſent, where ſo many perſons are returned for boroughs, who do not poſſeſs a foot of land in the kingdom?

By the old conſtitution, whoever poſſeſſed a free-hold in land, by which he was a gainer of forty ſhillings a year, had the privilege to vote for a knight of the ſhire. The good effects of this law are wholly eluded, partly by the courſe of time, and partly by corruption. Forty ſhillings in thoſe ages were equal to twenty pounds in ours; and therefore it was then a want of ſagacity to fix that privilege to a determinate ſum, rather than to a certain quantity of land, arable or paſture, able to produce a certain quantity of corn or hay. And therefore it is highly abſurd, and againſt the intent of the law, that this defect is not regulated.

But the matter is ſtill worſe: for any gentleman can, upon occaſion, make as many free-

freeholders as his eſtate or ſettlement will allow, by making leaſes for life of land at a rack rent of forty ſhillings, where a tenant, who is not worth one farthing a year, when his rent is paid, ſhall be held a legal voter for a perſon to repreſent his county. Neither do I enter into half the frauds that are practiſed upon this occaſion.

It is likewiſe abſurd, that boroughs decayed are not abſolutely extinguiſhed, becauſe the returned members do in reality repreſent nobody at all; and that ſeveral large towns are not repreſented, though full of induſtrious townſmen, who much advance the trade of the kingdom.

The claim of ſenators, to have themſelves and ſervants exempted from law-ſuits and arreſts, is manifeſtly abſurd. The proceedings at law are already ſo ſcandalous a grievance, upon account of the delays, that they little need any addition. Whoever is either not able, or not willing, to pay his juſt debts, or, to keep other men out of their lands, would evade the deciſion of the law, is ſurely but ill-qualified to be a legiſlator. A criminal, with as good reaſon, might ſit on the bench, with a power of condemning men to be hanged for their honeſty. By the annual ſitting of parliaments, and the days of privilege preceding and ſubſequent, a ſenator is one half of the year beyond the reach of common juſtice.

That the ſacred perſon of a ſenator's footman ſhall be free from arreſt, although

he

he undoes the poor ale-wife by running on ſcore, is a circumſtance of equal wiſdom and juſtice, to avoid the great evil of his maſter's lady wanting her complement of liveries behind the coach.

SHORT

SHORT

REMARKS

ON

BISHOP BURNET's HISTORY.

THIS author is, in moſt particulars, the worſt qualified for an hiſtorian that ever I met with. His ſtyle is rough, full of improprieties, in expreſſions often *Scotch*, and often ſuch as are uſed by the meaneſt people. He diſcovers a great ſcarcity of words and phraſes, by repeating the ſame ſeveral hundred times, for want of capacity to vary them. His obſervations are mean and trite, and very often falſe. His Secret Hiſtory is generally made up of coffee-houſe ſcandals, or at beſt from reports at the third, or fourth, or fifth hand. The account of the pretender's birth, would only become an old woman in a chimney-corner. His vanity runs intolerably through the whole book, affecting to have been of conſequence at nineteen years old, and while he was a little *Scotch* parſon of 40 pounds a year. He was a gentleman born, and, in the time of his youth and vigour, drew in an old maiden daughter of a *Scotch* earl to marry him. His characters are miſerably wrought, in many things

things miſtaken, and all of them detracting, except of thoſe who were friends to the preſbyterians. That early love of liberty he boaſts of is abſolutely falſe; for the firſt book that I believe he ever publiſhed is an entire treatiſe in favour of paſſive obedience and abſolute power; ſo that his reflexions on the clergy, for aſſerting and then changing thoſe principles, come very improperly from him. He is the moſt partial of all writers that ever pretended ſo much to impartiality; and yet I, who knew him well, am convinced that he is as impartial as he could poſſibly find in his heart; I am ſure more than I ever expected from him; particularly in his accounts of the Papiſt and Fanatic plots. This work may be more properly called *A Hiſtory of* Scotland *during the author's time, with ſome digreſſions relating to* England, rather than deſerve the title he gives it. For I believe two thirds of it relate only to that beggarly nation, and their inſignificant brangles and factions. What he ſucceeds beſt in is, in giving extracts of arguments and debates in council or parliament. Nothing recommends his book but the recency of the facts he mentions, moſt of them being ſtill in memory, eſpecially the ſtory of the Revolution; which, however, is not ſo well told as might be expected from one who affects to have had ſo conſiderable a ſhare in it. After all, he was a man of generoſity and good-nature, and very communicative; but, in his ten laſt

laſt years, was abſolutely party-mad, and fancied he ſaw popery under every buſh. He hath told me many paſſages not mentioned in this Hiſtory, and many that are, but with ſeveral circumſtances ſuppreſſed or altered. He never gives a good character without one eſſential point, that the perſon was tender to diſſenters, and thought many things in the church ought to be amended.

Setting up for a maxim, Laying down for a maxim, Clapt up, Decency, and ſome other words and phraſes, he uſes many hundred times.

Cut out for a Court, A pardoning planet, Clapt up, Left in the lurch, The Mob, Outed, A great beauty, Went roundly to work: All theſe phraſes, uſed by the vulgar, ſhew him to have kept mean or illiterate company in his youth.

AN

AN
ABSTRACT
OF THE
HISTORY of ENGLAND,

From the Invaſion of it by JULIUS CÆSAR to WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

THE moſt antient account we have of *Britain* is, that the iſland was full of inhabitants, divided into ſeveral petty kingdoms, as moſt nations of the world appear to have been at firſt. The bodies of the *Britons* were painted with a ſky-coloured blue, either as an ornament or elſe for terror to their enemies. In their religion they were Heathens, as all the world was before CHRIST, except the *Jews*.

Their prieſts were called Druids: theſe lived in hollow trees, and committed not their myſteries to writing, but delivered them down by tradition, whereby they were in time wholly loſt.

The *Britons* had wives in common, ſo many to a particular tribe or ſociety, and the children were in common to that ſociety.

About fifty years before *Chriſt*, *Julius Cæſar*, the firſt *Roman* emperor, having conquered *Gaul* or *France*, invaded *Britain*, rather to

increaſe his glory than conqueſts; for, having overcome the natives in one or two battles, he returned.

The next invaſion of *Britain* by the *Romans* (then maſters of moſt of the known world) was in the reign of the emperor *Claudius*; but it was not wholly ſubdued till that of *Nero*. It was governed by lieutenants, or deputies, ſent from *Rome*, as *Ireland* is now by deputies from *England*; and continued thus under the *Romans* for about 460 years; till, that empire being invaded by the *Goths* and *Vandals*, the *Romans* were forced not only to recal their own armies, but alſo to draw from hence the braveſt of the *Britons*, for their aſſiſtance againſt thoſe Barbarians.

The *Roman* conqueſts in this iſland reached no further Northward than to that part of *Scotland* where *Stirling* and *Glaſgow* are ſeated: the region beyond was held not worth the conquering: It was inhabited by a barbarous people, called *Caledonians* and *Picts*; who, being a rough fierce nation, daily infeſted the *Britiſh* borders. Therefore the emperor *Severus* built a wall, from *Stirling* to *Glaſgow*, to prevent the invaſions of the *Picts*: It is commonly called *The Picts Wall*.

Theſe *Picts* and *Caledonians*, or *Scots*, encouraged by the departure of the *Romans*, do now cruelly infeſt and invade the *Britons* by ſea and land: the *Britons* chuſe *Vortigern* for their king, who was forced to A.D. 455. invite the *Saxons* (a fierce Northern people) to aſſiſt him againſt thoſe Barbarians.

tians. The *Saxons* came over, and beat the *Picts* in ſeveral battles; but, at laſt, pick quarrels with the *Britons* themſelves; and, after a long war, drive them into the mountains of *Wales* and *Cornwall*, and eſtabliſh themſelves in ſeven kingdoms in *Britain* (by them now called *England*). The ſeven kingdoms are uſually ſtiled *the Saxon Heptarchy*.

About this time lived king *Arthur* (if the whole ſtory be not a fable) who was ſo famous for beating the *Saxons* in ſeveral battles. A. D. 460.

The *Britons* received Chriſtianity very early, and, as is reported, from ſome of the diſciples themſelves: ſo that, when the *Romans* left *Britain*, the *Britons* were generally Chriſtians. But the *Saxons* were Heathens, till pope *Gregory* the Great ſent over hither *Auſtin* the monk, by whom *Ethelbert* king of the *South-Saxons*, and his ſubjects, were converted to Chriſtianity; and the whole iſland ſoon followed the example. A. D. 600.

After many various revolutions in this iſland among the kingdoms of the *Saxons*, *Egbert*, deſcended from the *Weſt-Saxon* kings, became ſole monarch of *England*. A. D. 800.

The language in *Britain* was *Britiſh* (now called *Welſh*) or *Latin*; but, with the *Saxons*, *Engliſh* came in (although extremely different from what it is now). The preſent names of towns, ſhires, *&c.* were given by

them; and the whole kingdom was called *England* from the *Angles*, who were a branch of the *Saxons*.

As ſoon as the *Saxons* were ſettled, the *Danes* began to trouble and invade them, as they (the *Saxons*) had before done the *Britons*.

Theſe *Danes* came out of *Germany*, *Denmark*, and *Norway*, a rough warlike people, little different from the *Saxons*, to whom they were neighbours.

After many invaſions from the *Danes*, *Edgar* king of *England* ſets forth the firſt navy. He was entitled king of all *Albion* (an old name of this iſland), and was the firſt abſolute monarch. He made peace with the *Danes*, and allowed them to live in his dominions mixt with the *Engliſh*.

In this prince's time there were five kings in *Wales*, who all did him homage for their country.

Theſe *Danes* began firſt to make their invaſions here about the year 800, which they after renewed at ſeveral times, and under ſeveral leaders, and were as often repulſed. They uſed to come with vaſt numbers of ſhips, burn and ravage before them, as the cities of *London*, *Wincheſter*, &c. Encouraged by ſucceſs and prey, they often wintered in *England*, fortifying themſelves in the Northern parts, from whence they cruelly infeſted the *Saxon* kings. In proceſs of time, they mixed with the *Engliſh* (as was ſaid before) and lived under the *Saxon* government: but

Ethelred,

Ethelred, then king of *England*, growing weary of the *Daniſh* inſolence, a conſpiracy is formed, and the *Danes* maſſacred in one day all over *England*. A. D. 978.

Four years after, *Sweyn* king of *Denmark*, to revenge the death of his ſubjects, invades *England*; and, after battles fought and much cruelty exerciſed, he ſubdues the whole kingdom, forcing *Ethelred* to fly into *Normandy*.

Sweyn dying, his ſon *Canutus* ſucceeds in the kingdom; but, *Ethelred* returning with an army, *Canutus* is forced to withdraw to *Denmark* for ſuccour.

Ethelred dies, and his ſon *Edmond Ironſide* ſucceeds; but, *Canutus* returning with freſh forces from *Denmark*, after ſeveral battles, the kingdom is parted between them both. *Edmond* dying, his ſons are ſent beyond ſea by *Canutus*, who now is ſole king of *England*.

Hardicanute, the laſt *Daniſh* king, dying without iſſue, *Edward*, ſon of *Ethelred*, is choſen king. For his great holineſs, he was ſurnamed the Confeſſor, and ſainted after his death. He was the firſt of our princes that attempted to cure the king's evil by touching. He firſt introduced what is now called the Common Law. In his time began the mode and humour among the *Engliſh* gentry, of uſing the *French* tongue and faſhions, in compliance with the king, who had been bred up in *Normandy*.

The *Daniſh* government in *England* laſted but twenty-ſix years, under the three kings.

Edward the Confeſſor married the daughter of earl *Godwin*, an *Engliſh* nobleman of great power, but of *Daniſh* extraction; but, wanting iſſue, he appointed *Edgar Atheling*, grandſon to his brother, to ſucceed him, and *Harold*, ſon of earl *Godwin*, to be be governor of the young prince. But, upon *Edward's* death, *Harold* neglected *Edgar Atheling*, and uſurped the crown for himſelf.

Edward, while he was in *Normandy*, met ſo good reception, that it was ſaid he made a promiſe to that duke, that, in caſe he recovered his kingdom, and died without iſſue, he would leave it to him. *Edward* dying, *William* duke of *Normandy* ſends to *Harold* to claim the crown; but *Harold*, now in poſſeſſion, reſolves to keep it. Upon which duke *William*, having prepared a mighty fleet and army, invades *England*, lands at *Haſtings*, and ſets fire to his fleet, to cut off all hope from his men of returning. To *Harold* he ſent his meſſenger, demanding the kingdom and his ſubjection: but *Harold* returned him this anſwer, that, unleſs he departed his land, he would make him ſenſible of his juſt diſpleaſure. So *Harold* advanced his forces into *Suſſex*, within ſeven miles of his enemy. The *Norman* duke, to ſave the effuſion of blood, ſent theſe offers to *Harold*; either wholly to reſign the kingdom to him, or to try the quarrel with him in ſingle combat. To this *Harold* did not agree.

Then

Then the battle joined. The *Normans* had gotten the worſt, if it had not been for a ſtratagem they invented, which got them the day. In this engagement *Harold* was killed, and *William* duke of *Normandy* became king of *England*, under the name of *William* the Conqueror. A. D. 1066.

A LETTER TO A MEMBER of PARLIAMENT IN IRELAND,

Upon chuſing a new SPEAKER there.

Written in the Year 1708.

SIR,

YOU may eaſily believe I am not at all ſurpriſed at what you tell me, ſince it is but a confirmation of my own conjecture that I ſent you laſt week, and made you my reproaches upon at a venture. It looks exceeding ſtrange, yet I believe it to be a great truth, that, in order to carry a point in your houſe, the two following circumſtances are of great advantage: firſt, to have an ill cauſe; and, ſecondly, to be a minority. For both theſe circumſtances are extremely apt to invite men, to make them aſſiduous in their attendance, watchful of opportunities, zealous for gaining over proſelytes, and often ſucceſsful; which is not to be wondered at, when favour

favour and intereſt are on the ſide of their opinion. Whereas, on the contrary, a majority with a good cauſe are negligent and ſupine. They think it ſufficient to declare themſelves upon opinion in favour of their party; but, ſailing againſt the tide of favour and preferment, they are eaſily ſcattered and driven back. In ſhort, they want a common principle to cement, and motive to ſpirit them. For the bare acting upon a principle from the dictates of a good conſcience, or proſpect of ſerving the public, will not go very far under the preſent diſpoſitions of mankind. This was amply verified laſt ſeſſion of parliament, upon occaſion of the money-bill, the merits of which I ſhall not pretend to examine. It is enough that, upon the firſt news of its tranſmiſſion hither, in the form it afterwards appeared, the members, upon diſcourſe with their friends, ſeemed unanimous againſt it, I mean thoſe of both parties, except a few, who were looked upon as perſons ready to go any lengths preſcribed them by the court. Yet, with only a weak canvaſſing among a very few hands, the bill paſt, after a full debate, by a very great majority. Yet, I believe, you will hardly attempt perſuading me, or any body elſe, that one man in ten, of thoſe who changed their language, were moved by reaſons any way affecting the merits of the cauſe, but merely through hope, fear, indolence, or good-manners. Nay, I have been aſſured from good hands, that there was ſtill a number ſufficient to make a majority againſt

the bill, if they had not apprehended the other ſide to be ſecure, and therefore thought it imprudence, by declaring themſelves, to diſoblige the government to no purpoſe.

Reflecting upon this and forty other paſſages, in the ſeveral Houſes of Commons ſince the Revolution, makes me apt to think there is nothing a chief governor can be commanded to attempt here wherein he may not ſucceed, with a very competent ſhare of addreſs, and with ſuch aſſiſtance as he will always find ready at his devotion. And therefore I repeat what I ſaid at firſt, that I am not at all ſurpriſed at what you tell me. For, if there had been the leaſt ſpark of public ſpirit left, thoſe who wiſhed well to their country and its conſtitution in church and ſtate, ſhould, upon the firſt news of the late ſpeaker's promotion (and you and I know it might have been done a great deal ſooner), have immediately gone together, and conſulted about the fitteſt perſon to ſucceed him. But, by all I can comprehend, you have been ſo far from proceeding thus, that it hardly ever came into any of your heads. And the reaſon you give is the worſt in the world: That none offered themſelves, and you knew not whom to pitch upon. It ſeems, however, the other party was more reſolved, or at leaſt not ſo modeſt: for you ſay, your vote is engaged againſt your opinion, and ſeveral gentlemen in my neighbourhood tell me the ſame ſtory of themſelves. This, I confeſs, is of an unuſual

unuſual ſtrain, and a good many ſteps below any condeſcenſions a court will, I hope, ever require from you. I ſhall not trouble myſelf to enquire who is the perſon for whom you and others are engaged, or whether there be more candidates from that ſide than one. You tell me nothing of either; and I never thought it worth the queſtion to any body elſe. But, in ſo weighty an affair, and againſt your judgment, I cannot look upon you as irrevocably determined. Therefore I deſire you will give me leave to reaſon with you a little upon the ſubject, leſt your compliance, or inadvertency, ſhould put you upon what you may have cauſe to repent of as long as you live.

You know very well, the great buſineſs of the high-flying whigs, at this juncture, is to endeavour a repeal of the teſt clauſe. You know likewiſe that the moderate men, both of high and low-church, profeſs to be wholly averſe from this deſign, as thinking it beneath the policy of common gardeners to cut down the only hedge that ſhelters from the North. Now, I will put the caſe: If the perſon to whom you have promiſed your vote be one of whom you have the leaſt apprehenſion that he will promote or aſſent to the repealing of that clauſe, whether it be decent or proper he ſhould be the mouth of an aſſembly, whereof a very great majority pretend to abhor his opinion? can a body, whoſe mouth and heart muſt go ſo contrary ways, ever act with ſincerity, or hardly with conſiſtence? Such a

man is no proper vehicle to retain or convey the ſenſe of the houſe, which, in ſo many points of the greateſt moment, will be directly contrary to his. It is full as abſurd, as to prefer a man to a biſhopric who denies revealed religion. But it may poſſibly be a great deal worſe. What if the perſon you deſign to vote into that important poſt, ſhould not only be a declared enemy of the ſacramental teſt, but ſhould prove to be a ſolicitor, an encourager, or even a penner of addreſſes to complain of it? Do you think it ſo indifferent a thing, that a promiſe of courſe, the effect of compliance, importunity, ſhame of refuſing, or any the like motive, ſhall oblige you paſt the power of retracting?

Perhaps you will tell me, as ſome have already had the weakneſs, that it is of little importance to either party to have a ſpeaker of their ſide, his buſineſs being only to take the ſenſe of the houſe and report it; that you often, at committees, put an able ſpeaker into the chair on purpoſe to prevent him from ſtopping a bill. Why, if it were no more than this; I believe I ſhould hardly chuſe, even among my footmen, ſuch a one to deliver a meſſage, whoſe intereſt and opinion led him to wiſh it might miſcarry. But I remember to have heard colonel *Birch* of *Herefordſhire* ſay, that he was a very ſorry ſpeaker, whoſe ſingle vote was not better than fifty common ones. I am ſure it is reckoned in *England* the firſt great teſt of the prevalency of either party in the houſe. Sir *Thomas*

Lyttleton

Lyttleton thought, that a houſe of commons with a ſtinking breath (ſuppoſing the ſpeaker to be the mouth) would go near to infect every thing within the walls, and a great deal without. It is the ſmalleſt part of an able ſpeaker's buſineſs, what he performs in the houſe, at leaſt if he be in with the court, when it is hard to ſay how many converts may be made in a circle of dinners or private cabals. And you and I eaſily call to mind a gentleman in that ſtation, in *England*, who, by his own arts and perſonal credit, was able to draw over a majority, and change the whole power of a prevailing ſide in a nice juncture of affairs, and made a parliament expire in one party who had lived in another.

I am far from an inclination to multiply party-cauſes, but ſurely the beſt of us can with very ill grace make that an objection, who have not been ſo nice in matters of much leſs importance. Yet I have heard ſome perſons of both ſides gravely deliver themſelves in this manner, Why ſhould we make the chuſing a ſpeaker a party-cauſe? Let us fix upon one who is well verſed in the practices and methods of parliament. And I believe, there are too many who would talk at the ſame rate, if the queſtion were not only about aboliſhing the ſacramental teſt, but the ſacrament itſelf.

But, ſuppoſe the principles of the moſt artful ſpeaker would have no influence either to obtain or obſtruct any point in parliament, who

who can anſwer what effects ſuch a choice may produce without doors? It is obvious how ſuch a matter ſerves to raiſe the ſpirits and hopes of the diſſenters, and their high-flying advocates, what lengths they run, what concluſions they form, and what hopes they entertain. Do they hear of a new friend in office? that is encouragement enough to practiſe the city, againſt the opinion of a majority, into an addreſs to the queen for repealing the ſacramental teſt; or iſſue out their orders to the next fanatic parſon to furbiſh up his old ſermons, and preach and print new ones directly againſt epiſcopacy. I would lay a good wager, that, if the choice of a new ſpeaker ſucceeds exactly to their liking, we ſhall ſee it ſoon followed by many new attempts, either in the form of pamphlet, ſermon, or addreſs, to the ſame or perhaps more dangerous purpoſes.

Suppoſing the ſpeaker's office to be only an employment of profit and honour, and a ſtep to a better; ſince it is in your own gift, will you not chuſe to beſtow it upon ſome perſon whoſe principles the majority of you pretends to approve, if it were only to be ſure of a worthy man hereafter in a high ſtation, on the bench, or at the bar?

I confeſs, if it were a thing poſſible to be compaſſed, it would ſeem moſt reaſonable to fill the chair with ſome perſon who would be entirely devoted to neither party: but, ſince there are ſo few of that character, and thoſe either unqualified or unfriended, I cannot ſee

how

how a majority will anſwer it to their reputation, to be ſo ill provided of able perſons, that they muſt have recourſe for a leader to their adverſaries; a proceeding of which I never met with above one example, and even that ſucceeded but ill, though it was recommended by an oracle, which adviſed ſome city in *Greece* to beg a general from their enemies, who, in ſcorn, ſent them either a fidler or a poet, I have forgotten which; and ſo much I remember, that his conduct was ſuch, that they ſoon grew weary of him.

You pretend to be heartily reſolved againſt repealing the ſacramental teſt; yet, at the ſame time, give the only great employment you have to diſpoſe of to a perſon who will take that teſt againſt ſtomach (by which word I underſtand many a man's conſcience), who earneſtly wiſheth it repealed, and will endeavour it to the utmoſt of his power; ſo that the firſt action after you meet, will be a ſort of contravention to that teſt: and will any body go further than your practice to judge of your principles?

And now I am upon this ſubject, I cannot conclude without ſaying ſomething to a very popular argument againſt that ſacramental teſt, which may be apt to ſhake many of thoſe who would otherwiſe wiſh well enough to it. They ſay it was a new hardſhip put upon the diſſenters, without any provocation; and, it is plain, could be no way neceſſary, becauſe we had peaceably lived together ſo long without it. They add ſome other circumſtances

cumſtances of the arts by which it was obtained, and the perſon by whom it was inſerted. Surely ſuch people do not conſider that the penal laws againſt diſſenters were made wholly ineffectual by the connivance and mercy of the government, ſo that all employments of the ſtate lay as open to them as they did to the beſt and moſt legal ſubjects. And what progreſs they would have made by the advantages of a late conjuncture, is obvious to imagine; which I take to be a full anſwer to that objection.

I remember, upon the tranſmiſſion of that bill with the teſt-clauſe inſerted, the diſſenters and their partizans, among other topics, ſpoke much of the good effects produced by the lenity of the government: that the preſbyterians were grown very inconſiderable in their number and quality, and would daily come into the church, if we did not fright them from it by new ſeverities. When the act was paſſed, they preſently changed their ſtyle, and raiſed a clamour, through both kingdoms, of the great numbers of conſiderable gentry who were laid aſide, and could no longer ſerve their queen and country: which hyperbolical way of reckoning, when it came to be melted down into truth, amounted to about fifteen country-juſtices, moſt of them of the loweſt ſize, for eſtate, quality, or underſtanding. However, this puts me in mind of a paſſage told me by a great man, although I know not whether it be any where recorded. That a complaint was made to the king

and

and council of *Sweden*, of a prodigious ſwarm of *Scots*, who, under the condition of pedlars, infeſted that kingdom to ſuch a degree, as, if not ſuddenly prevented, might in time prove dangerous to the ſtate, by joining with any diſcontented party. Mean while the *Scots*, by their agents, placed a good ſum of money to engage the offices of the prime miniſter in their behalf; who, in order to their defence, told the council, he was aſſured they were but a few inconſiderable people, that lived honeſtly and poorly, and were not of any conſequence. Their enemies offered to prove the contrary: Whereupon an order was made to take their numbers, which was found to amount, as I remember, to about thirty thouſand. The affair was again brought before the council, and great reproaches made to the firſt miniſter, for his ill computation; who, preſently taking the other handle, ſaid, he had reaſon to believe the number yet greater than what was returned; and then gravely offered to the king's conſideration, whether it were ſafe to render deſperate ſo great a body of able men, who had little to loſe, and whom any hard treatment would only ſerve to unite into a power capable of diſturbing, if not deſtroying, the peace of the kingdom. And ſo they were ſuffered to continue.

SOME

SOME FEW
THOUGHTS
CONCERNING
THE REPEAL OF THE TEST.

THOSE of either ſide who have written upon this ſubject of the teſt, in making or anſwering objections, ſeem to fail by not preſſing ſufficiently the chief point upon which the controverſy turns. The arguments uſed by thoſe who write for the church are very good in their kind, but will have little force under the preſent corruptions of mankind, becauſe the authors treat this ſubject *tanquam in republica Platonis, et non in fæce Romuli.*

It muſt be confeſſed, that, conſidering how few employments of any conſequence fall to the ſhare of thoſe *Engliſh* who are born in this kingdom, and thoſe few very dearly purchaſed, at the expence of conſcience, liberty, and all regard for the public good, they are not worth contending for: and, if nothing but profit were in the caſe, it would hardly coſt me one ſigh when I ſhould ſee thoſe few ſcraps thrown among every ſpecies of fanatics, to ſcuffle for among themſelves.

And

And this will infallibly be the caſe, after repealing the teſt. For every ſubdiviſion of ſect will, with equal juſtice, pretend to have a ſhare; and, as it is uſual with ſharers, will never think they have enough, while any pretender is left unprovided. I ſhall not except the Quakers; becauſe, when the paſſage is once let open for ſects to partake in public emoluments, it is very probable the lawfulneſs of taking oaths, and wearing carnal weapons, may be revealed to the brotherhood; which thought, I confeſs, was firſt put into my head by one of the ſhrewdeſt Quakers in this kingdom [*n*].

[*n*] Undoubtedly the Quaker hinted at by Dr. *Swift* was the late Mr. *Rooke*; a man who had a very good taſte for wit, had read abundance of hiſtory, and was perhaps the moſt learned Quaker, one of them, in the world. To the beſt of my recollection, he was the author of a good humorous paſtoral in the Quaker-ſtyle.

MAXIMS

CONTROLLED

IN IRELAND.

The truth of ſome Maxims in State and Government, examined with reference to Ireland.

THERE are certain Maxims of State, founded upon long obſervation and experience, drawn from the conſtant practice of the wiſeſt nations, and from the very principles of government, nor ever controlled by any writer upon politics. Yet all theſe Maxims do neceſſarily preſuppoſe a kingdom, or commonwealth, to have the ſame natural rights common to the reſt of mankind who have entered into civil ſociety. For, if we could conceive a nation where each of the inhabitants had but one eye, one leg, and one hand, it is plain that, before you could inſtitute them into a republic, an allowance muſt be made for thoſe material defects, wherein they differed from other mortals. Or, imagine a legiſlator forming a ſyſtem for the government of *Bedlam*, and, proceeding upon the maxim that man is a ſociable animal, ſhould draw them out of their cells, and form them into corporations or general aſſemblies; the conſequence might probably be,

be, that they would fall foul on each other, or burn the houſe over their own heads.

Of the like nature are innumerable errors, committed by crude and ſhort thinkers, who reaſon upon general topics, without the leaſt allowance for the moſt important circumſtances, which quite alter the nature of the caſe.

This hath been the fate of thoſe ſmall dealers, who are every day publiſhing their thoughts, either on paper or in their aſſemblies, for improving the trade of *Ireland*, and referring us to the practice and example of *England*, *Holland*, *France*, or other nations.

I ſhall therefore examine certain maxims of government, which generally paſs for uncontrolled in the world, and conſider how far they will ſuit with the preſent condition of this kingdom.

Firſt, it is affirmed by wiſe men, that the dearneſs of things neceſſary for life, in a fruitful country, is certain ſign of wealth and great commerce; for, when ſuch neceſſaries are dear, it muſt abſolutely follow that money is cheap and plentiful.

But this is manifeſtly falſe in *Ireland*, for the following reaſon. Some years ago, the ſpecies of money here did probably amount to ſix or ſeven hundred thouſand pounds; and I have good cauſe to believe, that our remittances then did not much exceed the caſh brought in to us. But, by the prodigious diſcouragements we have ſince received in every branch

branch of our trade, by the frequent enforcements and rigorous execution of the navigation-act, the tyranny of under cuſtom-houſe officers, the yearly addition of abſentees, the payments to regiments abroad, to civil and military officers reſiding in *England*, the unexpected ſudden demands of great ſums from the treaſury, and ſome other drains of perhaps as great conſequence, we now ſee ourſelves reduced to a ſtate (ſince we have no friends) of being pitied by our enemies; at leaſt, if our enemies were of ſuch a kind as to be capable of any regards towards us, except of hatred and contempt.

Forty years are now paſſed ſince the Revolution, when the contention of the *Britiſh* empire was, moſt unfortunately for us, and altogether againſt the uſual courſe of ſuch mighty changes in goverment, decided in the leaſt important nation, but with ſuch ravages and ruin executed on both ſides, as to leave the kingdom a deſert, which, in ſome ſort, it ſtill continues. Neither did the long rebellions in 1641 make half ſuch a deſtruction of houſes, plantations, and perſonal wealth, in both kingdoms, as two years campaigns did in ours, by fighting *England's* battles.

By ſlow degrees, and by the gentle treatment we received under two auſpicious reigns, we grew able to live without running in debt. Our abſentees were but few, we had great indulgence in trade, a conſiderable ſhare in employments of church and ſtate; and, while

the ſhort leaſes continued, which were let ſome years after the war ended, tenants paid their rents with eaſe and cherfulneſs, to the great regret of their landlords, who had taken up a ſpirit of oppreſſion that is not eaſily removed. And although, in theſe ſhort leaſes, the rent was gradually to encreaſe after ſhort periods; yet, as ſoon as the term elapſed, the land was let to the higheſt bidder, moſt commonly without the leaſt effectual clauſe for building or planting. Yet by many advantages, which this iſland then poſſeſſed and has ſince utterly loſt, the rents of lands ſtill grew higher upon every leaſe that expired, till they have arrived at the preſent exorbitance; when the frog, overſwelling himſelf, burſt at laſt.

With the price of land, of neceſſity roſe that of corn and cattle, and all other commodities that farmers deal in: hence likewiſe, obviouſly, the rates of all goods and manufactures among ſhopkeepers, the wages of ſervants, and hire of labourers. But, although our miſeries came on faſt, with neither trade nor money left, yet neither will the landlord abate in his rent, nor can the tenant abate in the price of what that rent muſt be paid with, nor any ſhopkeeper, tradeſman, or labourer live, at lower expence, for food and cloathing, than he did before.

I have been the larger upon this firſt head, becauſe the ſame obſervations will clear up and ſtrengthen a good deal of what I ſhall affirm upon the reſt.

The

The *ſecond* maxim of thoſe who reaſon upon trade and goverment is, to aſſert, that low intereſt is a certain ſign of great plenty of money in a nation, for which, as in many other articles, they produce the examples of *Holland* and *England*. But, with relation to *Ireland*, this maxim is likewiſe entirely falſe.

There are two reaſons for the lowneſs of intereſt in any country. Firſt, that which is uſually alledged, the great plenty of ſpecies; and this is obvious. The ſecond is want of trade, which ſeldom falls under common obſervation, although it be equally true. For, where trade is altogether diſcouraged, there are few borrowers. In thoſe countries were men can employ a large ſtock, the young merchant, whoſe fortune may be four or five hundred pounds, will venture to borrow as much more, and can afford a reaſonable intereſt. Neither is it eaſy at this day to find many of thoſe, whoſe buſineſs reaches to employ even ſo inconſiſterable a ſum, except among the importers of wine; who, as they have moſt part of the preſent trade in theſe parts of *Ireland* in their hands, ſo they are the moſt exorbitant, exacting, fraudulent dealers, that ever trafficked in any nation, and are making all poſſible ſpeed to ruin both themſelves and the nation.

From this defect, of gentlemens not knowing how to diſpoſe of their ready money, ariſeth the high purchaſe of lands, which in all other countries is reckoned a ſign of wealth. For the frugal ſquires, who live be-

low their incomes, have no other way to diſpoſe of their ſavings but by mortgage or purchaſe, by which the rates of land muſt naturally encreaſe; and, if this trade continues long under the uncertainty of rents, the landed men of ready money will find it more for their advantage to ſend their caſh to *England*, and place it in the funds; which I myſelf am determined to do, the firſt conſiderable ſum I ſhall be maſter of.

It hath likewiſe been a maxim among politicians, that the great encreaſe of buildings in the metropolis argues a flouriſhing ſtate. But this, I confeſs, hath been controlled from the example of *London*; where, by the long and annual parliamentary ſeſſions, ſuch a number of ſenators, with their families, friends, adherents, and expectants, draw ſuch prodigious numbers to that city, that the old hoſpitable cuſtom of lords and gentlemen living in their antient ſeats, among their tenants, is almoſt loſt in *England*; is laughed out of doors; in ſo much that, in the middle of ſummer, a legal houſe of lords and commons might be brought in a few hours to *London*, from their country villas within twelve miles round.

The caſe in *Ireland* is yet ſomewhat worſe: for the abſentees of great eſtates, who, if they lived at home, would have many rich retainers in their neighbourhoods, having learned to rack their lands, and ſhorten their leaſes, as much as any reſiding ſquire; and the few remaining of theſe latter, having

ſome vain hope of employments for themſelves or their children, and diſcouraged by the beggarlineſs and thievery of their own miſerable farmers and cottagers, or ſeduced by the vanity of their wives, on pretence of their children's education (whereof the fruits are ſo apparent), together with that moſt wonderful and yet more unaccountable zeal for a ſeat in their aſſembly, though at ſome years purchaſe of their whole eſtates: theſe, and ſome other motives better let paſs, have drawn ſuch concourſe to this beggarly city, that the dealers of the ſeveral branches of building have found out all the commodious and inviting places for erecting new houſes, while fifteen hundred of the old ones, which is a ſeventh part of the whole city, are ſaid to be left uninhabited, and falling to ruin. Their method is the ſame with that which was firſt introduced by Dr. *Barebone* at *London*, who died a bankrupt. The maſon, the bricklayer, the carpenter, the ſlater, and the glazier, take a lot of ground, club to build one or more houſes, unite their credit, their ſtock, and their money; and, when their work is finiſhed, ſell it to the beſt advantage they can. But, as it often happens, and more every day, that their fund will not anſwer half their deſign, they are forced to underſell it at the firſt ſtory, and are all reduced to beggary. In ſo much that I know a certain fanatic brewer [*o*], who is reported

[*o*] *Leeſon.*

to

to have ſome hundreds of houſes in this town, is ſaid to have purchaſed the greateſt part of them at half value from ruined undertakers, hath intelligence of all new houſes where the finiſhing is at a ſtand, takes advantage of the builder's diſtreſs, and, by the advantage of ready money, gets fifty *per cent.* at leaſt for his bargain.

It is another undiſputed maxim in government, that people are the riches of a nation; which is ſo univerſally granted, that it will be hardly pardonable to bring it in doubt. And I will grant it to be ſo far true, even in this iſland, that, if we had the *African* cuſtom or privilege, of ſelling our uſeleſs bodies for ſlaves to foreigners, it would be the moſt uſeful branch of our trade, by ridding us of a moſt unſupportable burthen, and bringing us money in the ſtead. But, in our preſent ſituation, at leaſt five children in ſix who are born lie a dead weight upon us for want of employment. And a very ſkillful computer aſſured me, that above one half of the ſouls in this kingdom ſupported themſelves by begging and thievery, whereof two thirds would be able to get their bread in any other country upon earth. Trade is the only incitement to labour: where that fails, the poorer native muſt either beg, ſteal, or ſtarve, or be forced to quit his country. This hath made me often wiſh, for ſome years paſt, that, inſtead of diſcouraging our people from ſeeking foreign ſoil, the public would rather pay for tranſporting all our unneceſſary

mortals, whether papiſts or proteſtants, to *America*, as drawbacks are ſometimes allowed for exporting commodities where a nation is overſtocked. I confeſs myſelf to be touched with a very ſenſible pleaſure, when I hear of a mortality in any country-pariſh or village, where the wretches are forced to pay for a filthy cabin and two ridges of potatoes treble the worth, brought up to ſteal or beg, for want of work, to whom death would be the beſt thing to be wiſhed for, on account both of themſelves and the public.

Among all taxes impoſed by the legiſlature, thoſe upon luxury are univerſally allowed to be the moſt equitable and beneficial to the ſubject; and the commoneſt reaſoner on government might fill a volume with arguments on the ſubject. Yet here again, by the ſingular fate of *Ireland*, this maxim is utterly falſe; and the putting of it in practice may have ſuch a pernicious conſequence, as I certainly believe the thoughts of the propoſers were not able to reach.

The miſeries we ſuffer by our abſentees are of a far more extenſive nature than ſeems to be commonly underſtood. I muſt vindicate myſelf to the reader ſo far, as to declare ſolemnly that what I ſhall ſay of thoſe lords and ſquires, doth not ariſe from the leaſt regard I have for their underſtandings, their virtues, or their perſons. For, although I have not the honour of the leaſt acquaintance with any one among them (my ambition not ſoaring ſo high), yet I am too good a witneſs

witneſs of the ſituation they have been in for thirty years paſt, the veneration paid them by the people, the high eſteem they are in among the prime nobility and gentry, the particular marks of favour and diſtinction they receive from the court: the weight and conſequence of their intereſt, added to their great zeal and application for preventing any hardſhips their country might ſuffer from *Engtand*, wiſely conſidering that their own fortunes and honours were embarked in the ſame bottom.

SENT TO

DOCTOR SWIFT,

BY

A QUAKER,

When three hundred pounds were bid for taking up the DRAPIER.

1 SAM. Chap. xiv. Ver. 45.

"AND the people ſaid unto *Saul*, Shall "*Jonathan* die, who hath wrought this "great ſalvation in Iſrael? God forbid: "As the LORD liveth, there ſhall not one "hair of his head fall to the ground; for "he wrought with GOD this day. So the "people reſcued *Jonathan*, that he died "not."

A LET-

A LETTER from Sir JOHN BROWNE TO DOCTOR SWIFT.

Dawſon-Street, April 4, 1728.

REVEREND SIR,

BY a ſtrange fatality, though you were the only perſon in the world from whom I would conceal my being an author, yet you were unaccountably the only one let into the ſecret of it: the ignorant poor man, who was entruſted by me to deliver out the little books, though he kept the ſecret from all others, yet, from the nature of the ſubject, concluded that I could have no intereſt in concealing it from you, who were ſo univerſally known to be an indefatigable promoter of the general welfare of *Ireland*. But, though the accident gave me ſome uneaſineſs at firſt; yet, when I conſider your character, I cannot doubt (however ſlender the foundation of ſuch a hope may be from any merits of my own) your generoſity will oblige you to conceal but what chance has revealed to you, and incline you to judge of me, not from the report of my enemies, but from what I appear in the little tracts which have waited on you.

I ſhall

I ſhall not preſume, Sir, to detain you with the narrative of the original and progreſs of the parliamentary accuſations and votes againſt me; although, would you do me the honour to enquire, I could eaſily convince you, from my own particular caſe, that men have two characters, one which is either good or bad, according to the prevailing number of their friends or enemies, and one which never varies for either: one which has little or no regard to the virtue or vice of the ſubject, and one which regards that alone, is inherent (if I may ſay ſo) in the ſubject, and deſcribes it what it really is, without regard either to friends or enemies.

All I ſhall beg of you is, to ſuſpend your judgment upon it, ſince all parties allow that, although I had ſeveral ſummons from the committee for *Monday*, and many evidences on the road in obedience to their ſummons, yet I was tied down by the committee the preceding *Saturday*, and deprived of the benefit of all my evidences, notwithſtanding any thing I could urge to the contrary. This, I hope, I may ſay without injury to Mr. *Bingham*: for ſure he may be entirely innocent, and yet a magiſtrate under the immediate direction of the lord chief-juſtice who takes examinations againſt him: examinations, that do not even contain matter to form an indictment upon, may be innocent alſo.

It

It ſhall ſuffice therefore to ſay, I went from *Ireland* loaded with the ſevereſt cenſures of the houſe of commons: injured, as I thought, and oppreſſed to the greateſt degree imaginable, robbed of that character which was dearer to me than life itſelf; and all that by an overbearing, overpowering intereſt.

I ſought, in *England*, for that peace and protection which was denied me at home. My public character followed me: my countrymen avoided me. The nature of man is ſociable: I was forced to herd with ſtrangers. A prime miniſter, engaged in the ſucceſs of a ſcheme, wants no emiſſaries to ſpy out all that makes for him, and to fly with what they have found to their employer. I was unfortunately ſet by thoſe ſort of creatures: my ſentiments on the ſtate of our money-matters were induſtriouſly ſifted through me; and when that was done, before I knew any thing of the matter, I was ſerved with his majeſty's ſummons: in a hurry I ran out of town, and ſtaid in the country a while; but, on my return again, found another ſummons at my lodgings; and, terrified by the diſmal effects of power at home from riſking a ſecond ſhipwreck abroad, I yielded to it, and appeared at the *Cockpit*.

It is true my appearance at the *Cockpit*, to thoſe who knew me only by the votes of the houſe of commons, muſt have looked like a deſign of revenge; and I had many and powerful enemies, who gave all my actions the

the worſt colour. But, to take the matter impartially, Sir, is there no allowance to be made for a mind already broken by the diſmal effects of prevailing power, and filled with the apprehenſions of ſecond dangers? Is there no allowance for a man, young in the knowledge of the world, under all theſe fears and misfortunes, if he has yielded to the repeated ſummons of the council of *England*, in which his majeſty was preſent, and if he was there, after a long and ſtrenuous oppoſition, forced to tell his ſentiments, not in the manner repreſented to the world, but in a manner the moſt cautious of giving room for a pretence to oppoſe the inclinations of our parliament?

But, alas, the conſequence! You, Sir, the defender of *Ireland*, were ſoon engaged againſt me on that account; and that fatal genius of yours, in an inſtant, ruined my character; but, even ruin-bearing as it was, I bleſſed it: the cauſe which you undertook was dear to me; and, though fame is the laſt thing which one would ſacrifiſe even for his country, yet I parted with that with pleaſure, whilſt you thought it neceſſary for the public good ſo to do: but now the end is ſerved, dear Sir, may not the man have his mare again?

Plato, being told that certain perſons aſperſed his character, and repreſented him abroad as a very ill man; inſtead of expoſtulating with his enemies and returning reproach for reproach, concealed himſelf, ſaying,

ing, *No matter, my friends, the whole life of Plato ſhall give his accuſers the lie.*

Could I ſet before me a greater example? Under the general diſpleaſure of my country, under all the cenſures which the reſtleſs malice of my enemies could deviſe, and under the keen edge of the Drapier's wit; the only revenge I indulged myſelf was, by a ſteady love for my country, and by manifeſt acts of affection thereto, to be a ſilent reproach to the foul tongues of my enemies.

Permit then, Sir, permit me in peace to take his great example; and no longer give way to the power of my enemies, by continuing to oppreſs me. They have already gained their cauſe by you: but I muſt ſay, it was not the ſword of *Ajax*, but the armour of *Achilles*, which he put on, that won the day.

The cauſe for which you undertook my ruin, was the cauſe of my country: it was a good cauſe, and you ſhall ever find me of that ſide. You have carried it, and I know you will no longer be my enemy. But alas! Sir, as long as your works ſubſiſt, where ever they be read, even unto the end of time, muſt I be branded as a villain? It is a hard ſentence; and yet, unleſs the ſpear of *Achilles*, the ſame inſtrument which gave the wound, adminiſter the remedy, it muſt be ſo.

In ſhort, Sir, you muſt be a man of honour: it is not poſſible that honour ſhould be wanting where all the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics

racteriſtics of it are found: I cannot doubt it; and therefore I will let you fully into a ſecret which accident has given you a part of; and I am ſure you will keep it.

The ſource of all my misfortunes was the vote of the houſe of commons; but I have laboured however, as I always ſhall, to ſerve my country and make myſelf agreeable to them: and, though the misfortune of a bad public character deprived me of the private converſation of my countrymen, which is the ſureſt and beſt way to know our true intereſt; yet I flatter myſelf that my little Eſſays may be uſeful, at leaſt they may be no bad beginning: and you know it is eaſy to add to a work once begun. But, if the work is known to be mine, the very name will condemn it, and render it uſeleſs to my country.

Whatever the faults may be, I have publicly applied to you to amend them, before the bearer's miſtake made me determine this private application to you: And I muſt ſay, that I ſhall reckon it no ſmall degree of honour, if you take that trouble upon you.

In the mean-time, I ſhall beg the favour of you, to keep a ſecret which no other perſon but my printer, my bookſeller, and the bearer knows. I am,

REVEREND SIR,

Your moſt obedient ſervant,

JOHN BROWNE.

A LET-

A LETTER ON

Mr. M'CULLA's Project about HALFPENCE, and a new one propoſed.

WRITTEN IN MDCCXXIX.

SIR,

YOU deſire to know my opinion concerning Mr. *M'Culla's* project, of circulating notes ſtamped on copper, that ſhall paſs for the value of halfpence and pence. I have ſome knowledge of the man; and, about a month ago, he brought me his book, with a couple of his halfpenny notes: but I was then out of order, and he could not be admited. Since that time, I called at his houſe, where I diſcourſed the whole affair with him as thoroughly as I could. I am altogether a ſtranger to his character. He talked to me in the uſual ſtyle, with a great profeſſion of zeal for the public-good; which is the common cant of all projectors in their bills, from a firſt miniſter of ſtate down to a corncutter. But I ſtopped him ſhort, as I would have done a better man; becauſe it is

too groſs a practice to paſs at any time, and eſpecially in this age, where we all know one another ſo well. Yet, whoever propoſeth any ſcheme, which may prove to be a public benefit, I ſhall not quarrel, if it prove likewiſe very beneficial to himſelf. It is certain, that, next to the want of ſilver, our greateſt diſtreſs in point of coin is the want of ſmall change, which may be ſome poor relief for the defect of the former, ſince the crown will not pleaſe to take that work upon them here as they do in *England*. One thing in Mr. *M'Culla's* book is certainly right, that no law hinders me from giving a payable note upon leather, wood, copper, braſs, iron, or any other material (except gold and ſilver), as well as upon paper. The queſtion is, whether I can ſue him on a copper bond, where there is neither hand nor ſeal, nor witneſſes to prove it. To ſupply this, he hath propoſed, that the materials upon which his note is written ſhall be in ſome degree of value equal to the debt. But that is one principal matter to be enquired into. His ſcheme is this:

He gives you a piece of copper for a halfpenny or penny, ſtampt with a promiſſory note to pay you twenty pence for every pound of copper notes, whenever you ſhall return them. Eight and forty of theſe halfpenny pieces are to weigh a pound, and he ſells you that pound, coined and ſtamped, for two ſhillings; by which he clearly gains a little more than

than 16 *per cent.* that is to ſay, two pence in every ſhilling.

This will certainly ariſe to a great ſum, if he ſhould circulate as large a quantity of his notes as the kingdom, under the great dearth of ſilver, may very probably require: enough indeed to make any *Iriſh* tradeſman's fortune; which, however, I ſhould not repine at in the leaſt, if we could be ſure of his fair dealing. It was obvious for me to raiſe the common objection, why Mr. *M'Culla* would not give ſecurity to pay the whole ſum to any man who returned him his copper notes, as my lord *Dartmouth* and colonel *Moor* were, by their patents, obliged to do. To which he gave me ſome anſwers plauſible enough. Firſt, he conceived that his coins were much nearer to the intrinſic value than any of thoſe coined by patents, the bulk and goodneſs of the metal equalling the beſt *Engliſh* halfpence made by the crown. That he apprehended the ill-will of envious and deſigning people, who, if they found him to have a great vent for his notes, ſince he wanted the protection of a patent, might make a run upon him which he could not be able to ſupport. And, laſtly, that, his copper, as is already ſaid, being equal in value and bulk to the *Engliſh* halfpence, he did not apprehend they ſhould ever be returned, unleſs a combination, proceeding from ſpite and envy, might be formed againſt him.

But there are ſome points in his propoſal which I cannot well anſwer for; nor do I

know whether he will be able to do it himſelf. The firſt is, whether the copper he gives us will be as good as what the crown provided for the *Engliſh* halfpence and farthings? and, ſecondly, whether he will always continue to give us as good? and, thirdly, when he will think fit to ſtop his hand, and give us no more? for I ſhould be as ſorry to be at the mercy of Mr. *M'Culla*, as of Mr. *Wood*.

There is another difficulty of the laſt importance. It is known enough that the crown is ſuppoſed to be neither gainer nor loſer by coinage of any metal: for they ſubtract, or ought to ſubtract, no more from the intrinſic value than what will juſt pay the charges of the mint; and how much that will amount to is the queſtion. By what I could gather from Mr. *M'Culla*, good copper is worth fourteen pence *per* pound. By this computation, if he ſells his copper notes for two ſhillings the pound, and will pay twenty pence back, then the expence of coinage for one pound of copper muſt be ſix pence, which is 30 *per cent.* The world ſhould be particularly ſatisfied on this article, before he vends notes: for the diſcount of 30 *per cent.* is prodigious, and vaſtly more than I can conceive it ought to be. For, if we add to that proportion the 16 *per cent.* which he avows to keep for his own profit, there will be a diſcount of about 46 *per cent.* Or, to reckon, I think, a fairer way; whoever buys a pound

of Mr. *M'Culla's* coin, at two ſhillings *per* pound, carries home only the real value of fourteen pence, which is a pound of copper; and thus he is a loſer of 41 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d. per cent.* But, however, this high diſcount of 30 *per cent.* will be no objection againſt *M'Culla's* propoſal; becauſe, if the charge of coinage will honeſtly amount to ſo much, and we ſuppoſe his copper notes may be returned upon him, he will be the greater ſufferer of the two; becauſe the buyer can loſe but four pence in a pound, and *M'Culla* muſt loſe ſix pence, which was the charge of the coinage.

Upon the whole, there are ſome points which muſt be ſettled to the general ſatisfaction, before we can ſafely take Mr. *M'Culla's* copper notes for value received; and how he will give that ſatisfaction, is not within my knowledge or conjecture. The firſt point is, That we ſhall be always ſure of receiving good copper, equal in bulk and fineneſs to the beſt *Engliſh* halfpence.

The ſecond point is, to know what allowance he makes to himſelf, either out of the weight or mixture of his copper, or both, for the charge of coinage. As to the weight, the matter is eaſy by his own ſcheme: for, as I have ſaid before, he propoſes forty-eight to weigh a pound, which he gives you for two ſhillings, and receives it by the pound at twenty pence: ſo that, ſuppoſing pure copper to be fourteen pence a pound, he makes you pay 30 *per cent.* for the labour of coin-

ing, as I have already obſerved, beſides 16 *per cent.* when he ſells it. But, if to this he adds any alloy, to debaſe the metal, although it be not above 10 *per cent.* then Mr. *M'Culla's* promiſſory notes will, to the intrinſic value of the metal, be above 47 *per cent.* diſcount.

For, ſubtracting 10 *per cent.* off 60 *l.* worth of copper, it will (to avoid fractions) be about five and a half *per cent.* in the whole 100 *l.* which, added to — 41 13 4

5 10 0

will be *per cent.* 47 3 4

That we are under great diſtreſs for change, and that Mr. *M'Culla's* copper notes, on ſuppoſition of the metal being pure, are leſs liable to objection than the project of *Wood*, may be granted; but ſuch a diſcount, where we are not ſure even of our twenty pence a pound, appears hitherto a dead weight on his ſcheme.

Since I writ this, calling to mind that I had ſome copper halfpence by me, I weighed them with thoſe of Mr. *M'Culla*, and obſerved as follows.

Firſt, I weighed Mr. *M'Culla's* halfpenny againſt an *Engliſh* one of King *Charles* II. which outweighed Mr. *M'Culla's* a fourth part, or 25 *per cent.*

I likewiſe weighed an *Iriſh Patrick* and *David* halfpenny, which outweighed Mr. *M'Culla's*

M'Culla's 12 ½ *per cent.* It had a very deep impreſſion, and milled very ſkillfully round.

I found that even a common *Harp* halfpenny, well preſerved, weighed equal to Mr. *M'Culla's*. And even ſome of *Wood's* halfpence were near equal in weight to his. Therefore, if it be true that he does not think *Wood's* copper to have been faulty, he may probably give us no better.

I have laid theſe looſe thoughts together with little order, to give you, and others who may read them, an opportunity of digeſting them better. I am no enemy to Mr. *M'Culla's* project, but I would have it put upon a better foot. I own that this halfpenny of king *Charles* II. which I weighed againſt Mr. *M'Culla's*, was of the faireſt kind I had ſeen. However, it is plain the crown could afford it without being a loſer. But it is probable, that the officers of the mint were then more honeſt than they have ſince thought fit to be; for I confeſs not to have met thoſe of any other year ſo weighty, or in appearance of ſo good metal, among all the copper coins of the three laſt reigns; yet theſe, however, did much outweigh thoſe of Mr. *M'Culla*; for I have tried the experiment on a hundred of them. I have indeed ſeen accidentally one or two very light, but it muſt certainly have been done by chance, or rather I ſuppoſe them to be counterfeits. Be that as it will, it is allowed on all hands, that good copper was never known to be

cheaper than it is at preſent. I am ignorant of the price, further than by his informing me that it is only fourteen pence a pound; by which, I obſerve, he charges the coinage at 30 *per cent.* And therefore I cannot but think his demands are exorbitant. But, to ſay the truth, the dearneſs or cheapneſs of the metal do not properly enter into the queſtion. What we deſire is, that it ſhould be of the beſt kind, and as weighty as can be afforded; that the profit of the contriver ſhould be reduced from 16 to 8 *per cent.* and the charge of coinage, if poſſible, from 30 to 10, or 15 at moſt.

Mr. *M'Culla* muſt alſo give good ſecurity that he will coin only a determinate ſum, not exceeding twenty thouſand pounds; by which, although he ſhould deal with all uprightneſs imaginable, and make his coin as good as that I weighed of king *Charles* II.; he will, at 16 *per cent.* gain three thouſand two hundred pounds: a very good additional job to a private tradeſman's fortune.

I muſt adviſe him alſo to employ better workmen, and make his impreſſions deeper and plainer, by which a riſing rim may be left about the edge of his coin, to preſerve the letter from wearing out too ſoon. He hath no wardens or maſters, or other officers of the mint, to ſuck up his profit; and, therefore, can afford to coin cheaper than the crown, if he will but find good materials, proper implements, and ſkilful workmen.

Whether

Whether this project will ſucceed in Mr. *M'Culla's* hands (which, if it be honeſtly executed, I ſhould be glad to ſee) one thing I am confident of, that it might be eaſily brought to perfection by a ſociety of nine or ten honeſt gentlemen of fortune, who wiſh well to their country, and would be content to be neither gainers nor loſers, further than the bare intereſt of their money. And Mr. *M'Culla*, as being the firſt ſtarter of the ſcheme, might be conſidered and rewarded by ſuch a ſociety; whereof, although I am not a man of fortune, I ſhould think it an honour and happineſs to be one, even with borrowed money upon the beſt ſecurity I could give. And, firſt, I am confident, without any ſkill but by general reaſon, that the charge of coining copper would be very much leſs than 30 *per cent.* Secondly, I believe ten thouſand pounds, in halfpence and farthings, would be ſufficient for the whole kingdom, even under our great and moſt *unneceſſary diſtreſs* for the want of ſilver; and that, without ſuch a diſtreſs, half the ſum would ſuffice.

For I compute and reaſon thus: the city of *Dublin*, by a groſs computation, contains ten thouſand families; and I am told by ſhopkeepers, that, if ſilver were as plenty as uſual, two ſhillings in copper would be ſufficient, in the courſe of buſineſs, for each family; but, in conſideration of the want of ſilver, I would allow five ſhillings to each family, which would amount to 2,500 *l.*;

and, to help this, I would recommend a currency of all the genuine undefaced *Harp* halfpence, which are left of lord *Dartmouth's* and *Moor's* patents under king *Charles* II.; and the ſmall *Patrick* and *David* for farthings. To the reſt of the kingdom, I would aſſign the 7,500 *l.* remaining; reckoning *Dublin* to anſwer one fourth of the kingdom, as *London* is judged to anſwer (if I miſtake not) one third of *England*; I mean in the view of money only.

To compute our want of ſmall change by the number of ſouls in the kingdom, beſides being perplexed, is, I think, by no means juſt. They have been reckoned at a million and a half, whereof a million at leaſt are beggars, in all circumſtances except that of wandering about for alms, and that circumſtance may arrive ſoon enough, when it will be time to add another ten thouſand pounds in copper. But, without doubt, the families of *Ireland*, who lie chiefly under the difficulties of wanting ſmall change, cannot be above forty or fifty thouſand; which the ſum of ten thouſand pounds, with the addition of the faireſt old halfpence, would tolerably ſupply. For, if we give too great a looſe to any projector to pour in upon us what he pleaſes, the kingdom will be (how ſhall I expreſs it under our preſent circumſtances?) more than undone.

And hence appears, in a very ſtrong light, the villany of *Wood*, who propoſed the coinage of one hundred and eighty thouſand pounds in

in copper, for the uſe of *Ireland*; whereby every family in the kingdom would be loaden with ten or a dozen ſhillings, although *Wood* might not tranſgreſs the bounds of his patent, and although no counterfeits, either at home or abroad, were added to the number; the contrary to both which would indubitably have arrived. So ill-informed are great men on the other ſide, who talk of a million with as little ceremony as we do of half a crown.

But, to return to the propoſal I have made: ſuppoſe ten gentlemen, lovers of their country, ſhould raiſe 200 *l.* apiece; and, from the time the money is depoſited as they ſhall agree, ſhould begin to charge it with ſeven *per cent.* for their own uſe: that they ſhould as ſoon as poſſible provide a mint and good workmen, and buy copper ſufficient for coining two thouſand pounds, ſubtracting a fifth part of the intereſt of ten thouſand pounds for the charges of the tools, and fitting up a place for a mint; the other four parts of the ſame intereſt to be ſubtracted equally out of the four remaining coinages of 2000 *l.* each, with a juſt allowance for other neceſſary incidents. Let the charge of coinage be fairly reckoned, and the kingdom informed of it, as well as of the price of copper. Let the coin be as well and deeply ſtamped as it ought. Let the metal be as pure as can conſiſt to have it rightly coined (wherein I am wholly ignorant), and the bulk as large as that of king *Charles* II.

And let this club of gentlemen give their joint ſecurity to receive all the coins they iſſue out for ſeven or ten years, and return gold and ſilver without any defalcation.

Let the ſame club or company, when they have iſſued out the firſt two thouſand pounds, go on the ſecond year, if they find a demand, and that their ſcheme hath anſwered to their own intention as well as to the ſatisfaction of the public. And, if they find ſeven *per cent.* not ſufficient, let them ſubtract eight, beyond which I would not have them go. And when they have, in two years, coined ten thouſand pounds, let them give public notice that they will proceed no farther, but ſhut up their mint, and diſmiſs their workmen: unleſs the real, univerſal, unſolicited declaration of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom ſhall ſignify a deſire that they ſhould go on for a certain ſum farther.

This company may enter into certain regulations among themſelves, one of which ſhould be, to keep nothing concealed, and duly to give an account to the world of their whole methods of acting.

Give me leave to compute, wholly at random, what charge the kingdom will be at, by the loſs of intrinſic value in the coinage of 10,000 *l.* in copper, under the management of ſuch a ſociety of gentlemen.

Firſt, It is plain, that, inſtead of ſomewhat more than 16 *per cent.* as demanded by Mr. *M'Cnlla*, this ſociety deſires but 8 *per cent.*

Secondly,

Secondly, Whereas Mr. *M'Culla* charges the expence of coinage at 30 *per cent.* I hope and believe this ſociety will be able to perform it at 10.

Thirdly, Whereas it doth not appear that Mr. *M'Culla* can give any ſecurity for the goodneſs of his copper, becauſe not one in ten thouſand have the ſkill to diſtinguiſh; the ſociety will be all engaged that theirs ſhall be of the beſt ſtandard.

Fourthly, That, whereas Mr. *M'Culla's* halfpence are one fourth part lighter than that kind coined in the time of king *Charles* II. theſe gentlemen will oblige themſelves to the public, to give the coin of the ſame weight and goodneſs with thoſe halfpence, unleſs they ſhall find they cannot afford it; and, in that caſe, they ſhall beforehand inform the pubic, ſhew their reaſons, and ſignify how large they can make them without being loſers; and ſo give over or purſue their ſcheme, as they find the opinion of the world to be. However, I do not doubt but they can afford them as large, and of as good metal, as the beſt *Engliſh* halfpence that have been coined in the three laſt reigns, which very much outweigh thoſe of Mr. *M'Culla*. And this advantage will ariſe in proportion, by leſſening the charge of coinage from 30 *per cent.* to 10 or 15, or 20 at moſt. But I confeſs myſelf in the dark on that article; only I think it impoſſible it ſhould amount to any proportion near 30 *per cent.* otherwiſe the coiners

of

of thoſe counterfeit halfpence, called *Raps*, would have little encouragement to follow their trade.

But the indubitable advantages by having the management in ſuch a ſociety would be, the paying 8 *per cent.* inſtead of 16, the being ſure of the goodneſs and juſt weight of the coin, and the period to be put to any further coinage than what was abſolutely neceſſary to ſupply the wants and deſires of the kingdom: and all this under the ſecurity of ten gentlemen of credit and fortune, who would be ready to give the beſt ſecurity and ſatisfaction, that they had no deſign to turn the ſcheme into a job.

As to any miſtakes I have made in computation, they are of little moment; and I ſhall not deſcend ſo low as to juſtify them againſt any caviller.

The ſtrongeſt objection againſt what I offer, and which perhaps may make it appear viſionary, is the difficulty to find half a ſcore gentlemen, who, out of a public ſpirit, will be at the trouble, for no more profit than one *per cent.* above the legal intereſt, to be overſeers of a mint for five years; and perhaps, without any juſtice, raiſe the clamour of the people againſt them. Beſides, it is moſt certain that many a ſquire is as fond of a job, and as dextrous to make the beſt of it, as Mr. *M'Culla* himſelf, or any of his level. However, I do not doubt but there may be ten ſuch perſons in this town, if they had only ſome viſible mark to know them at ſight.

ſight. Yet I juſt foreſee another inconvenience: that knaviſh men are fitter to deal with others of their own denomination; while thoſe who are honeſt and beſt intentioned may be the inſtruments of as much miſchief to to the public, for want of cunning, as the greateſt knaves; and more, becauſe of the charitable opinion which they are apt to have of others. Therefore, how to join the prudence of the ſerpent with the innocence of the dove in this affair, is the moſt difficult point. It is not ſo hard to find an honeſt man, as to make this honeſt man active, and vigilant, and ſkilful; which, I doubt, will require a ſpur of profit greater than my ſcheme will afford him, unleſs he will be contented with the honour of ſerving his country, and the reward of a good conſcience.

After reviewing what I had written, I ſee very well that I have not given any allowance for the firſt charge of preparing all things neceſſary for coining, which, I am told, will amount to about 200*l.* beſides 20*l.* *per annum* for five years rent of a houſe to work in. I can only ſay, that, this making in all 300*l.* it will be an addition of no more than 3 *per cent.* out of 10,000*l.*

But the great advantages to the public, by having the coinage placed in the hands of ten gentlemen, ſuch as I have already deſcribed (if ſuch are to be found), are theſe:

Firſt, They propoſe no other gain to themſelve than 1 *per cent.* above the legal intereſt

eſt for the money they advance; which will hardly afford them coffee when they meet at their mint-houſe.

Secondly, They bind themſelves to make their coins of as good copper as the beſt *Engliſh* halfpence, and as well coined, and of equal weight: and do likewiſe bind themſelves to charge the public with not one farthing for the expence of coinage, more than it ſhall really ſtand them in.

Thirdly, They will, for a limited term of ſeven or ten years, as ſhall be thought proper upon mature conſideration, pay gold and ſilver, without any defalcation, for all their own coin that ſhall be returned upon their hands.

Fourthly, They will take care that the coins ſhall have a deep impreſſion, leaving a riſing rim on both ſides, to prevent their being defaced in a long time; and the edges ſhall be milled.

I ſuppoſe they need not be very apprehenſive of counterfeits, which will be difficult to make ſo as not to be diſcovered: for it is plain that thoſe bad halfpence, called *Raps*, are ſo eaſily diſtinguiſhed, even from the moſt worn genuine halfpenny, that nobody will take them for a farthing, although under the great preſent want of change.

I ſhall here ſubjoin ſome computations relating to Mr. *McCulla's* copper notes. They were ſent to me by a perſon well ſkilled in ſuch calculations: and therefore I refer them to the reader.

Mr.

Mr. *M'Culla* charges good copper at fourteen pence *per* pound, but I know not whether he means Avoirdupois or Troy weight.

Avoirdupois is 16 oz. to a lb. 6960 grains.
A pound Troy weight - - 5760 grains.

Mr. *M'Culla's* copper is fourteen pence *per* pound Avoirdupois.

Two of Mr. *M'Culla's* penny-notes, one with another, weigh — — 524 grains.
By which computation, 2*s.* of his notes, which he sells for 1 lb. wight, will weigh — 6288 grains.
But 1 lb. avoirdupois weighs, as above, — — — — 6960 grains.

This difference makes 10 *per cent.* to Mr, *M'Culla's* profit, in point of weight.

The old *Patrick* and *David* halfpenny weighs — — — 149 grains.
Mr. *M'Culla's* halfpenny weighs 131 grains.

The difference is 18

Which is equal to 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.*

The *Engliſh* halfpenny of king *Charles* II. weighs — — 167 grains.
M'Culla's halfpenny weighs 131 grains.

The difference 36

Which difference allowed, a fifth part is 20 *per cent.*

Another

Another Computation.

Mr. *M'Culla* allows his pound of copper (coinage included) to be worth twenty pence, for which he demands two ſhillings.

His coinage he computes at ſix pence *per* pound weight; therefore, laying out only twenty pence, and gaining four pence, he makes *per cent.* profit — — 20

The ſix pence *per* pound weight, allowed for coinage, makes *per cent.* 30

The want of weight in his halfpenny, compared as above, is *per cent.* 10

By all which, (*viz.* coinage, profit, and want of weight) the public loſes *per cent.* — 60

If Mr. *M'Culla's* coins will not paſs, and he refuſes to receive them back, the owner cannot ſell them at above twelve-pence *per* pound.

The ſcheme of the ſociety, raiſed as high as it can poſſibly be, will be only thus: whereby, with the defect of weight of 10 *per cent.* he will loſe 60 *per cent.*

For intereſt of their money, *per cent.* 8

For coinage, inſtead of 10, ſuppoſe, at moſt, *per cent.* 20

For 300*l.* laid out for tools, a mint, and houſe-rent, charge 3 *per cent.* upon the coinage of 10,000*l.* — — 3

Charges in all upon intereſt, coinage, &c. *per cent.* 31

Which,

Which, with all the advantages above-mentioned, of the goodneſs of the metal, the largeneſs of the coin, the deepneſs and fairneſs of the impreſſion, the aſſurance of the ſociety confining itſelf to ſuch a ſum as they undertake, or as the kingdom ſhall approve; and, laſtly, their paying in gold or ſilver for all their coin returned upon their hands, without any defalcation, would be of mighty benefit to the kingdom; and, with a little ſteadineſs and activity, could, I doubt not, be eaſily compaſſed.

I would not in this ſcheme recommend the method of prommiſſory notes, after Mr. *M'Culla's* manner; but, as I have ſeen in old *Iriſh* coins, the words *Civitas Dublin* on one ſide, with the year of our Lord, and the *Iriſh Harp*, on the reverſe.

DOING

DOING GOOD:

A

SERMON.

On the Occaſion of WOOD's PROJECT.

Written in the Year MDCCXXIV.

GALATIANS vi. 10.

As we have therefore opportunity, let us do Good unto all men.

NATURE directs every one of us, and God permits us, to conſult our own private good before the private good of any other perſon whatſoever. We are, indeed, commanded to love our neighbour as ourſeves, but not as well as ourſelves. The love we have for ourſelves is to be the pattern of that love we ought to have towards our neighbour: but, as the copy doth not equal the original, ſo my neighbour cannot think it hard, if I prefer myſelf, who am the original, before him, who is only the copy. Thus, if any matter equally concern the life, the reputation, the profit of my neighbour, and my own; the law of nature, which is the law of God, obligeth me to take care of myſelf firſt, and afterwards of him. And this I need not be at much pains in perſuading

perſuading you to; for the want of ſelf-love, with regard to things of this world, is not among the faults of mankind. But then, on the other ſide, if, by a ſmall hurt and loſs to myſelf, I can procure a great good to my neighbour, in that caſe his intereſt is to be preferred. For example, if I can be ſure of ſaving his life, without great danger to my own; if I can preſerve him from being undone without ruining myſelf, or recover his reputation without blaſting mine; all this I am obliged to do: and, if I ſincerely perform it, I do then obey the command of God, in loving my neighbour as myſelf.

But, beſide this love we owe to every man in his particular capacity under the title of our neighbour, there is yet a duty of a more large extenſive nature incumbent on us; which is, our love to our neighbour in his public capacity, as he is a member of that great body the common-wealth, under the ſame government with ourſelves; and this is uſually called love of the public, and is a duty to which we are more ſtrictly obliged than even that of loving ourſelves; becauſe therein ourſelves are alſo contained, as well as all our neighbours, in one great body. This love of the public, or of the commonwealth, or love of our country, was in antient times properly known by the name of *Virtue*, becauſe it was the greateſt of all virtues, and was ſuppoſed to contain all virtues in it: and many great examples of this virtue are left to us on record, ſcarcely to be believed,

or even conceived, in ſuch a baſe, corrupted, wicked age as this we live in. In thoſe times, it was common for men to ſacrifiſe their lives for the good of their country, although they had neither hope or belief of future rewards; whereas, in our days, very few make the leaſt ſcruple of ſacrifiſing a whole nation, as well as their own ſouls, for a little preſent gain; which often hath been known to end in their own ruin in this world, as it certainly muſt in that to come.

Have we not ſeen men, for the ſake of ſome petty employment, give up the very natural rights and liberties of their country, and of mankind, in the ruin of which themſelves muſt at laſt be involved? Are not theſe corruptions gotten among the meaneſt of our people, who, for a piece of money, will give their votes at a venture, for the diſpoſal of their own lives and fortunes, without conſidering whether it be to thoſe who are moſt likely to betray or defend them?

But, if I were to produce only one inſtance of a hundred wherein we fail in this duty of loving our country, it would be an endleſs labour; and therefore I ſhall not attempt it.

But here I would not be miſunderſtood: by the love of our country I do not mean loyalty to our king, for that is a duty of another nature; and a man may be very loyal, in the common ſenſe of the word, without one grain of public-good at his heart. Witneſs

neſs this very kingdom we live in. I verily believe, that, ſince the beginning of the world, no nation upon earth ever ſhewed (all circumſtances conſidered) ſuch high conſtant marks of loyalty, in all their actions and behaviour, as we have done: and, at the ſame time, no people ever appeared more utterly void of what is called a Public Spirit. When I ſay the people, I mean the bulk or maſs of the people, for I have nothing to do with thoſe in power.

Therefore I ſhall think my time not ill ſpent, if I can perſuade moſt or all of you who hear me, to ſhew the love you have for your country, by endeavouring, in your ſeveral ſtations, to do all the public good you are able. For I am certainly perſuaded, that all our misfortunes ariſe from no other original cauſe than that general diſregard among us to the public welfare.

I therefore undertake to ſhew you three things.

Firſt, That there are few people ſo weak or mean, who have it not ſometimes in their power to be uſeful to the public.

Secondly, That it is often in the power of the meaneſt among mankind to do miſchief to the public.

And *laſtly*, That all wilful injuries done to the public are very great and aggravated ſins in the ſight of God.

Firſt, There are few people ſo weak or mean, who have it not ſometimes in their power to be uſeful to the public.

Solomon tells us of a poor wiſe man, who ſaved a city by his counſel. It hath often happened that a private ſoldier, by ſome unexpected brave attempt, hath been inſtrumental in obtaining a great victory. How many obſcure men have been authors of very uſeful inventions, whereof the world now reaps the benefit? The very example of honeſty and induſtry in a poor tradeſman will ſometimes ſpread through a neighbourhood, when others ſee how ſucceſsful he is; and thus ſo many uſeful members are gained, for which the whole body of the public is the better. Whoever is bleſſed with a true public ſpirit, God will certainly put it into his way to make uſe of that bleſſing, for the ends it was given him, by ſome means or other: and therefore it hath been obſerved, in moſt ages, that the greateſt actions, for the benefit of the commonwealth, have been performed by the wiſdom or courage, the contrivance or induſtry, of particular men, and not of numbers; and that the ſafety of a kingdom hath often been owing to thoſe hands from whence it was leaſt expected.

But, *ſecondly*, it is often in the power of the meaneſt among mankind to do miſchief to the public: and hence ariſe moſt of thoſe miſeries with which the ſtates and kingdoms of the earth are infeſted. How many great princes have been murdered by the meaneſt ruffians! The weakeſt hand can open a floodgate to drown a country, which a thouſand

of

of the ſtrongeſt cannot ſtop. Thoſe who have thrown off all regard for public good, will often have it in their way to do public evil, and will not fail to exerciſe that power whenever they can. The greateſt blow given of late to this kingdom, was by the diſhoneſty of a few manufacturers; who, by impoſing bad ware at foreign markets, in almoſt the only traffic permitted to us, did half ruin that trade; by which this poor unhappy kingdom now ſuffers in the midſt of ſufferings. I ſpeak not here of perſons in high ſtations, who ought to be free from all reflexion, and are ſuppoſed always to intend the welfare of the community: but we now find, by experience, that the meaneſt inſtrument may, by the concurrence of accidents, have it in his power to bring a whole kingdom to the very brink of deſtruction, and is at this preſent endeavouring to finiſh his work; and hath agents among ourſelves, who are contented to ſee their own country undone, to be ſmall ſharers in that iniquitous gain, which at laſt muſt end in their own ruin as well as ours. I confeſs, it was chiefly the conſideration of that great danger we are in, which engaged me to diſcourſe to you on this ſubject; to exhort you to a love of your country, and a public ſpirit, when all you have is at ſtake; to prefer the intereſt of your prince and your fellow ſubjects before that of one deſtructive impoſtor, and a few of his adherents.

Perhaps it may be thought by ſome, that this way of diſcourſing is not ſo proper from

the pulpit. But ſurely, when an open attempt is made, and far carried on, to make a great kingdom one large poor-houſe, to deprive us of all means to exerciſe hoſpitality or charity, to turn our cities and churches into ruins, to make the country a deſert for wild beaſts and robbers, to deſtroy all arts and ſciences, all trades and manufactures, and the very tillage of the ground, only to enrich one obſcure ill-deſigning projector and his followers; it is time for the paſtor to cry out that the wolf is getting into his flock, to warn them to ſtand together, and all to conſult the common ſafety. And God be praiſed for his infinite goodneſs in raiſing ſuch a ſpirit of union among us, at leaſt in this point, in the midſt of all our former diviſions; which union, if it continue, will, in all probability, defeat the pernicious deſign of this peſtilent enemy to the nation.

But, from hence, it clearly follows how neceſſary the love of our country, or a public ſpirit, is in every particular man, ſince the wicked have ſo many opportunities of doing public miſchief. Every man is upon his own guard for his private advantage; but, where the public is concerned, he is apt to be negligent, conſidering himſelf only as one among two or three millions, among whom the loſs is equally ſhared, and thus, he thinks, he can be no great ſufferer. Meanwhile the trader, the farmer, and the ſhopkeeper, complain of the hardneſs and deadneſs

neſs of the times, and wonder whence it comes; while it is, in a great meaſure, owing to their own folly, for want of that love of their country, and public ſpirit and firm union among themſelves, which are ſo neceſſary to the proſperity of every nation.

Another method by which the meaneſt wicked man may have it in his power to injure the public, is falſe accuſation, whereof this kingdom hath afforded too many examples: neither is it long ſince no man, whoſe opinions were thought to differ from thoſe in faſhion, could ſafely converſe beyond his neareſt friends, for fear of being ſworn againſt, as a traitor, by thoſe who made a traffic of perjury and ſubornation; by which the very peace of the nation was diſturbed, and men fled from each other as they would from a lion or a bear got looſe. And it is very remarkable, that the pernicious project now in hand to reduce us to beggary, was forwarded by one of theſe falſe accuſers, who had been convicted of endeavouring, by perjury and ſubornation, to take away the lives of ſeveral innocet perſons here among us: and, indeed, there could not be a more proper inſtrument for ſuch a work.

Another method by which the meaneſt people may do injury to the public, is the ſpreading of lies and falſe rumours, thus raiſing a diſtruſt among the people of a nation, cauſing them to miſtake their true intereſt, and their enemies for their friends: and this

hath been likewiſe too ſucceſsful a practice among us, where we have known the whoſe kingdom miſled by the groſſeſt lies, raiſed upon occaſion to ſerve ſome particular turn. As it hath alſo happened in the caſe I lately mentioned, where one obſcure man, by repreſenting our wants where they were leaſt and concealing them where they were greateſt, had almoſt ſucceeded in a project of utterly ruining this whole kingdom; and may ſtill ſucceed, if God doth not continue that public ſpirit, which he hath almoſt miraculouſly kindled in us upon this occaſion.

Thus we ſee the public is many times, as it were, at the mercy of the meaneſt inſtrument, who can be wicked enough to watch opportunities of doing it miſchief, upon the principles of avarice or malice; which, I am afraid, are deeply rooted in too many breaſts, and againſt which there can be no defence, but a firm reſolution in all honeſt men, to be cloſely united and active in ſhewing their love to their country, by preferring the public intereſt to their preſent private advantage. If a paſſenger, in a great ſtorm at ſea, ſhould hide his goods that they might not be thrown over board to lighten the ſhip, what would be the conſequence? The ſhip is caſt away, and he loſes his life and goods together.

We have heard of men, who, through greedineſs of gain, have brought infected goods into a nation, which bred a plague, whereof the owners and their families periſhed firſt. Let thoſe among us conſider this and tremble, whoſe

whoſe houſes are privately ſtored with thoſe materials of beggary and deſolation, lately brought over to be ſcattered like a peſtilence among their countrymen, which may probably firſt ſeize upon themſelves and their families, until their houſes ſhall be made a dunghill.

I ſhall mention one practice more, by which the meaneſt inſtruments often ſucceed in doing public miſchief; and this is by deceiving us with plauſible arguments, to make us believe that the moſt ruinous project they can offer is intended for our good, as it happened in the caſe ſo often mentioned. For the poor ignorant people, allured by the appearing convenience in their ſmall dealings, did not diſcover the ſerpent in the braſs, but were ready, like the *Iſraelites*, to offer incenſe to it; neither could the wiſdom of the nation convince them, until ſome, of good intentions, made the cheat ſo plain to their ſight, that thoſe who run may read. And thus the deſign was to treat us, in every point, as the *Philiſtines* treated *Samſon* (I mean when he was betrayed by *Dalilah*), firſt to put out our eyes, and then bind us with fetters of braſs.

I proceed to the laſt thing I propoſed, which was, to ſhew you that all wilful injuries done to the public, are very great and aggravated ſins in the ſight of God.

Firſt, It is apparent from ſcripture, and moſt agreeable to reaſon, that the ſafety and welfare of nations are under the moſt peculiar care of God's providence. Thus he promiſed *Abraham* to ſave *Sodom*, if only ten

righteous men could be found in it. Thus the reaſon which God gave to *Jonas* for not deſtroying *Nineveh* was, becauſe there were ſix ſcore thouſand men in that city.

All government is from God, who is the God of order, and therefore whoever attempts to breed confuſion or diſturbance among a people, doth his utmoſt to take the government of the world out of God's hands, and to put it into the hands of the devil, who is the author of confuſion. By which it is plain, that no crime, how heinous ſoever, committed againſt particular perſons, can equal the guilt of him who does injury to the public.

Secondly, All offenders againſt their country lie under this grievous difficulty, that it is impoſſible to obtain a pardon, or make reſtitution. The bulk of mankind are very quick at reſenting injuries, and very ſlow in forgiving them: and how ſhall one man be able to obtain the pardon of millions, or repair the injuries he hath done to millions? how ſhall thoſe, who, by a moſt deſtructive fraud, got the whole wealth of our neighbouring kingdom into their hands, be ever able to make a recompence? how will the authors and promoters of that villainous project, for the ruin of this poor country, be able to account with us for the injuries they have already done, although they ſhould no farther ſucceed? The deplorable caſe of ſuch wretches muſt entirely be left to the unfathomable

mercies

mercies of God: for thoſe who know the leaſt in religion are not ignorant that, without our utmoſt endeavours to make reſtitution to the perſon injured, and to obtain his pardon, added to a ſincere repentance, there is no hope of ſalvation given in the Goſpel.

Laſtly, All offences againſt our own country have this aggravation, that they are ungrateful and unnatural. It is to our country we owe thoſe laws which protect us in our lives, our liberties, our properties, and our religion. Our country produced us into the world, and continues to nouriſh us ſo, that it is uſually called our mother; and there have been examples of great magiſtrates, who have put their own children to death for endeavouring to betray their country, as if they had attempted the life of their natural parent.

Thus I have briefly ſhewn you how terrible a ſin it is to be an enemy to our country, in order to incite you to the contrary virtue, which at this juncture is ſo highly neceſſary, when every man's endeavour will be of uſe. We have hitherto been juſt able to ſupport ourſelves under many hardſhips; but now the axe is laid to the root of the tree, and nothing but a firm union among us can prevent our utter undoing. This we are obliged to, in duty to our gracious king, as well as to ourſelves. Let us therefore preſerve that public ſpirit, which God hath raiſed in us for our own temporal intereſt. For, if this wicked project ſhould ſucceed, which it cannot do

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but by our own folly; if we ſell ourſelves for nought, the merchant, the ſhop-keeper, the artificer, muſt fly to the deſert with their miſerable families, there to ſtarve or live upon rapine, or at leaſt exchange their country for one more hoſpitable than that where they were born.

Thus much I thought it my duty to ſay to you, who are under my care, to warn you againſt thoſe temporal evils, which may draw the worſt of ſpiritual evils after them; ſuch as heart-burnings, murmurings, diſcontents, and all manner of wickedneſs which a deſperate condition of life may tempt men to.

I am ſenſible that what I have now ſaid will not go very far, being confined to this aſſembly; but I hope it may ſtir up others of my brethren to exhort their ſeveral congregations, after a more effectual manner, to ſhew their love for their country on this important occaſion. And this, I am ſure, cannot be called meddling in affairs of ſtate.

I pray God protect his moſt gracious majeſty, and this kingdom, long under his government, and defend us from all ruinous projectors, deceivers, ſuborners, perjurers, falſe accuſers, and oppreſſors; from the virulence of party and faction; and unite us in loyalty to our king, love to our country, and charity to each other. And this we beg, for *Jeſus Chriſt* his ſake: To whom, &c.

A PRO-

A PROPOSAL THAT

All the LADIES and WOMEN of IRELAND ſhould appear conſtantly in Iriſh Manufactures.

Written in the Year 1729.

THERE was a treatiſe written about nine years ago, to perſuade the people of *Ireland* to wear their own manufactures [*c*]. This treatiſe was allowed to have not one ſyllable in it of party or diſaffection, but was wholly founded upon the growing poverty of the nation, occaſioned by the utter want of trade, except the ruinous importation of all foreign extravagancies from other countries. This treatiſe was preſented, by the Grand-jury of the city and county of *Dublin*, as a ſcandalous, ſeditious, and factious pamphlet. I forget who was the foreman of the city grand-jury, but the foreman for the county was one Dr. *Seal*, regiſter to the archbiſhop of *Dublin*, wherein he differed much from the ſentiments of his lord. The printer was

[*c*] See Vol. X. p. 1.

tried

tried before the late Mr. *Whitſhed*, that famous lord chief-juſtice; who, on the bench, laying his hand on his heart, declared, upon his ſalvation, that the author was a *Jacobite*, and had a deſign to beget a quarrel between the two nations. In the midſt of this proſecution, about 1500 weavers were forced to beg their bread, and had a general contribution made for their relief, which juſt ſerved to make them drunk for a week; and then they were forced to turn rogues, or ſtrolling beggars, or to leave the kingdom.

The duke of *Grafton*, who was then lieutenant, being perfectly aſhamed of ſo infamous and unpopular a proceeding, obtained from *England* a *noli proſequi* for the printer. Yet the grand-jury had ſolemn thanks given them from the ſecretary of ſtate.

I mention this paſſage (perhaps too much forgotten) to ſhew how dangerous it hath been for the beſt-meaning perſon to write one ſyllable in the defence of his country, or diſcover the miſerable condition it is in.

And, to prove this truth, I will produce one inſtance more; wholly omitting the famous cauſe of the *Drapier*, and the proclamation againſt him, as well as the perverſeneſs of another jury againſt the ſame Mr. *Whitſhed*, who was violently bent to act the ſecond part in another ſcene.

About two years ago, there was a ſmall paper printed, which was called, *A Short View of the State of Ireland* [*d*], relating to the ſe-

[*d*] See Vol. X. p. 223.

veral

veral cauſes whereby any country may grow rich, and applying them to *Ireland*. *Whitſhed* was dead, and conſequently the printer was not troubled. *Miſt*, the famous journaliſt, happened to reprint this paper in *London*, for which his preſs-folks were proſecuted for almoſt a twelvemonth; and, for ought I know, are not yet diſcharged.

This is our caſe; inſomuch, that, although I am often without money in my pocket, I dare not own it in ſome company, for fear of being thought diſaffected.

But ſince I am determined to take care, that the author of this paper ſhall not be diſcovered (following herein the moſt prudent practice of the *Drapier*), I will venture to affirm, that the three ſeaſons wherein our corn hath miſcarried, did no more contribute to our preſent miſery, than one ſpoonful of water thrown upon a rat already drowned would contribute to his death; and that the preſent plentiful harveſt, although it ſhould be followed by a dozen enſuing, would no more reſtore us, than it would the rat aforeſaid, to put him near the fire, which might indeed warm his fur-coat, but never bring him back to life.

The ſhort of the matter is this, The diſtreſſes of the kingdom are operating more and more every day, by very large degrees, and ſo have been doing for above a dozen years paſt.

If you demand from whence theſe diſtreſſes have ariſen, I deſire to aſk the following queſtion.

If

If two thirds of any kingdom's revenue be exported to another country, without one farthing of value in return, and if the ſaid kingdom be forbidden the moſt profitable branches of trade wherein to employ the other third, and only allowed to traffic in importing thoſe commodities which are moſt ruinous to itſelf, how ſhall that kingdom ſtand?

If this queſtion were formed into the firſt propoſition of an hypothetical ſyllogiſm, I defy the man born in *Ireland*, who is now in the faireſt way of getting a collectorſhip or a cornet's poſt, to give good reaſon for denying it.

Let me put another caſe. Suppoſe a gentleman's eſtate of 200*l.* a year ſhould ſink to one hundred, by ſome accident, whether by an earthquake or inundation it matters not, and ſuppoſe the ſaid gentleman utterly hopeleſs and unqualified ever to retrieve the loſs; how is he otherwiſe to proceed in his future œconomy, than by reducing it on every article to one half leſs, unleſs he will be content to fly his country, or rot in jail? This is a repreſentation of *Ireland's* condition, only with one fault, that it is a little too favourable. Neither am I able to propoſe a full remedy for this, that ſhall ever be granted, but only a ſmall prolongation of life, until God ſhall miraculouſly diſpoſe the hearts of our neighbours and our kinſmen, our fellow proteſtants, fellow ſubjects, and fellow rational creatures, to permit us to ſtarve without running

ning further in debt. I am informed that our national debt (and God knows how we wretches came by that fashionable thing a national debt) is about 250,000*l.*; which is, at least, one third of the whole kingdom's rents, after our absentees and other foreign drains are paid, and about 50,000*l.* more than all the cash.

It seems, there are several schemes for raising a fund to pay the interest of this formidable sum (not the principal, for this is allowed impossible). The necessity of raising such a fund is strongly and regularly pleaded from the late deficiencies in the duties and customs. And is it the fault of *Ireland* that these funds are deficient? If they depend on trade, can it possibly be otherwise, while we have neither liberty to trade, nor money to trade with; neither hands to work, nor business to employ them if we had? Our diseases are visible enough, both in their causes and effects; and the cures are well known, but impossible to be applied.

If my steward comes and tells me, that my rents are sunk so low that they are very little more than sufficient to pay my servants their wages, have I any other course left, than to cashier four in six of my rascally footmen, and a number of other varlets in my family, of whose insolence the whole neighbourhood complains. And I would think it extremely severe in any law, to force me to maintain a household of fifty servants, and fix their wa-

ges, before I had offered my rent-roll upon oath to the legiſlators.

To return from digreſſing: I am told one ſcheme for raiſing a fund to pay the intereſt of our national debt is, by a further duty of forty ſhillings a ton upon wine. Some gentlemen would carry this matter much further, by raiſing it to twelve pounds; which, in a manner, would amount to a prohibition. Thus weakly arguing from the practice of *England*.

I have often taken notice, both in print and in diſcourſe, that there is no topic ſo fallacious, either in talk or in writing, as to argue how we ought to act in *Ireland* from the example of *England*, *Holland*, *France*, or any other country, whoſe inhabitants are allowed the common rights and liberties of humankind. I could undertake to name ſix or ſeven of the moſt uncontrolled maxims in government, which are utterly falſe in this kingdom.

As to the additional duty on wine, I think any perſon may deliver his opinion upon it, until it ſhall have paſſed into a law; and, till then, I declare mine to be poſitively againſt it.

Firſt, Becauſe there is no nation yet known, in either hemiſphere, where the people of all conditions are more in want of ſome cordial, to keep up their ſpirits, than in this of ours. I am not in jeſt; and, if the fact will not be allowed me, I ſhall not argue it.

Secondly,

Secondly, It is too well and generally known, that this tax of forty ſhillings additional on every ton of wine (which will be double at leaſt to the home-conſumer) will increaſe equally every new ſeſſion of parliament, until perhaps it comes to twelve pounds.

Thirdly, Becauſe, as the merchants inform me, and as I have known many the like inſtances in *England*, this additional tax will more probably leſſen this branch of the revenue, than encreaſe it. And therefore ſir *John Stanley*, a commiſſioner of the cuſtoms, in *England*, uſed to ſay, that the Houſe of Commons were generally miſtaken in matters of trade, by an erroneous opinion that two and two make four. Thus, if you ſhould lay an additional duty of one penny a pound on raiſins, or ſugar, the revenue, inſtead of riſing, would certainly ſink; and the conſequence would only be, to leſſen the number of plumb-puddings, and ruin the confectioner.

Fourthly, I am likewiſe aſſured by merchants, that, upon this additional forty ſhillings, the *French* will at leaſt equally raiſe their duties upon all commodities we export thither.

Fifthly, If an original extract of the exports and imports be true, we have been gainers, upon the balance, by our trade with *France* for ſeveral years paſt; and, although our gain amounts to no great ſum, we ought to be ſatisfied, ſince we are no loſers, with the only conſolation we are capable of receiving.

Laſtly, The worſt conſequence is behind. If we raiſe the duty on wine to a conſiderable height, we loſe the only hold we have of keeping among us the few gentlemen of any tolerable eſtates. I am confident, there is hardly a gentleman of eight hundred pounds a year and upwards, in this kingdom, who would balance half an hour to conſider whether he ſhould live here, or in *England*, if a family could be as cheaply maintained in the one as the other. As to eatables, they are as cheap in many fine counties of *England*, as in ſome very indifferent ones here; or, if there be any difference, that vein of thrift, and prudence in oeconomy, which paſſes there without reproach (and chiefly in *London* itſelf), would amply make up the difference. But the article of *French* wine is hardly tolerable, in any degree of plenty, to a middling fortune: and this is it which, by growing habitual, wholly turns the ſcale with thoſe few landed men diſengaged from employments, who content themſelves to live hoſpitably with plenty of good wine in their own country, rather than in penury and obſcurity in another, with bad, or with none at all.

Having therefore, as far as in me lies, aboliſhed this additional duty upon wine; for I am not under the leaſt concern about paying the intereſt of the national debt, but leave it, as in loyalty bound, wholly to the wiſdom of the honourable houſe of commons: I come now to conſider by what methods we

may

may be able to put off and delay our utter undoing as long as it is poſſible.

I never have diſcourſed any reaſonable man upon this ſubject, who did not allow that there was no remedy left us, but to leſſen the importation of all unneceſſary commodities, as much as it was poſſible; and likewiſe, either to perſuade our abſentees to ſpend their money at home, which is impoſſible, or tax them at five ſhillings in the pound during their abſence, with ſuch allowances, upon neceſſary occaſions, as ſhall be thought convenient; or, by permitting us a free trade, which is denied to no other nation upon earth. The three laſt methods are treated by Mr. *Prior*, in his moſt uſeful treatiſe, added to his liſt of abſentees.

It is to gratify the vanity and pride and luxury of the women, and of the young fops who admire them, that we owe this inſupportable grievance of bringing in the inſtruments of our ruin. There is annually brought over to this kingdom near ninety thouſand pounds worth of ſilk, whereof the greater part is manufactured: Thirty thouſand pounds more is expended in muſlin, holland, cambric, and callico. What the price of lace amounts to, is not eaſy to be collected from the cuſtomhouſe book, being a kind of goods that takes up little room, and is eaſily run; but, conſidering the prodigious price of a woman's head-dreſs, at ten, twelve, twenty pounds a yard, muſt be very great. The tea, rated at ſeven ſhillings *per* pound,

comes to near twelve thouſand pounds; but, conſidering it as the common luxury of every chambermaid, ſempſtreſs, and tradeſman's wife, both in town and country, however they come by it, muſt needs coſt the kingdom double that ſum. Coffee is ſomewhat above 7,000*l.* I have ſeen no account of chocolate, and ſome other *Indian* or *American* goods. The drapery imported is about 24,000*l.* The whole amounts (with one or two other particulars) to 150,000*l.* The laviſhing of all which money is juſt as prudent and neceſſary, as to ſee a man in an embroidered coat begging out of *Newgate*, in an old ſhoe.

I allow that the thrown and raw ſilk is leſs pernicious; becauſe we have ſome ſhare in the manufacture; but we are not now in circumſtances to trifle. It coſts us above 40,000*l.* a year: and if the ladies, till better times, will not be content to go in their own country ſhifts, I wiſh they may go in rags. Let them vie with each other in the fineneſs of their native linen: Their beauty and gentleneſs will as well appear, as if they were covered over with diamonds and brocade.

I believe no man is ſo weak, as to hope or expect that ſuch a reformation can be brought about by a law. But a thorough hearty, unanimous vote, in both houſes of parliament, might perhaps anſwer as well: every ſenator, noble or plebeian, giving his favour,

honour, that neither himſelf, nor any of his family, would, in their dreſs or furniture of their houſes, make uſe of any thing except what was of the growth and manufacture of this kingdom; and that they would uſe the utmoſt of their power, influence, and credit, to prevail on their tenants, dependants, and friends, to follow their example.

A LETTER TO THE ARCHBISHOP of DUBLIN, Concerning the WEAVERS.

MY LORD,

THE Corporation of Weavers in the woollen manufacture, who have ſo often attended your grace, and called upon me with their ſchemes and propoſals, were with me on *Thurſday* laſt; when he who ſpoke for the reſt, and in the name of his abſent brethren, ſaid, it was the opinion of the whole body, that if ſomewhat were written at this time, by an able hand, to perſuade the people of this kingdom to wear their own woollen manufactures, it might be of good uſe to the nation in general, and preſerve many hundreds of their trade from ſtarving. To which I anſwered, that it was hard for any man of common ſpirit to turn his thoughts to ſuch ſpeculations, without diſcovering a reſentment which people are too delicate to bear. For I will not deny to your grace, that I cannot reflect on the ſingular condition of this coun-

try,

try, different from all others upon the face of the earth, without ſome emotion, and without often examining, as I paſs the ſtreets, whether thoſe animals which come in my way, with two legs and human faces, clad and erect, be of the ſame ſpecies with what I have ſeen very like them in *England*, as to the outward ſhape, but differing, in their notions, natures, and intellectuals, more than any two kinds of brutes in a foreſt; which any man of common prudence would immediately diſcover, by perſuading them to define what they mean by law, liberty, property, courage, reaſon, loyalty, or religion.

One thing, my lord, I am very confident of; that if God Almighty, for our ſins, would moſt juſtly ſend us a peſtilence, whoever ſhould dare to diſcover his grief in public for ſuch a viſitation, would certainly be cenſured for diſaffection to the government. For I ſolemnly profeſs, that I do not know one calamity we have undergone theſe many years, whereof any man, whoſe opinions were not in faſhion, dared to lament, without being openly charged with that imputation. And this is the harder, becauſe although a mother, when ſhe hath corrected her child, may ſometimes force it to kiſs the rod, yet ſhe will never give that power to the foot boy or the ſcullion.

My lord, there are two things for the people of this kingdom to conſider: firſt, their preſent evil condition; and, ſecondly, what can be done in ſome degree to remedy it.

I ſhall not enter into a particular deſcription of our preſent miſery: it hath been already done in ſeveral papers, and very fully in one entitled, *A ſhort View of the State of Ireland.* It will be enough to mention the entire want of trade, the navigation-act executed with the utmoſt rigor, the remiſſion of a million every year to *England*, the ruinous importation of foreign luxury and vanity, the oppreſſion of landlords, and diſcouragement of agriculture.

Now all thoſe evils are without the poſſibility of a cure, except that of importations; and to fence againſt ruinous folly will be always in our power, in ſpite of the diſcouragements, mortifications, contempt, hatred, and oppreſſion we labour under: but our trade will never mend, the navigation-act never be ſoftened, our abſentees never return, our endleſs foreign payments never be leſſened, our own landlords never be leſs exacting.

All other ſchemes for preſerving this kingdom from utter ruin are idle and viſionary, conſequently drawn from wrong reaſoning, and from general topics, which, for the ſame cauſes that they may be true in all nations, are certainly falſe in ours; as I have told the public often enough, but with as little effect as what I ſhall ſay at preſent is likely to produce.

I am weary of ſo many abortive projects, for the advancement of trade; of ſo many crude propoſals, in letters ſent me from unknown

known hands; of ſo many contradictory ſpeculations, about raiſing or ſinking the value of gold and ſilver: I am not in the leaſt ſorry to hear of the great numbers going to *America*, although very much for the cauſes that drive them from us, ſince the uncontrolled maxim, "That people are the riches of a nation," is no maxim here under our circumſtances. We have neither manufactures to employ them about, nor food to ſupport them.

If a private gentleman's income be ſunk irretrievably for ever from a hundred pounds to fifty, and he hath no other method to ſupply the deficiency, I deſire to know, my lord, whether ſuch a perſon hath any other courſe to take, than to ſink half his expences in every article of œconomy, to ſave himſelf from ruin and a jail. Is not this more than doubly the caſe of *Ireland*, where the want of money, the irretrievable ruin of trade, with the other evils above-mentioned, and many more too well known and felt, and too numerous or invidious to relate, have been gradually ſinking us, for above a dozen years paſt, to a degree that we are at leaſt by two thirds in a worſe condition than was ever known ſince the Revolution. Therefore, inſtead of dreams and projects for advancing of trade, we have nothing left but to find out ſome expedient whereby we may reduce our expences to our incomes.

Yet this procedure, allowed ſo neceſſary in all private families, and in its own nature ſo eaſy to be put in practice, may meet with

ſtrong oppoſition by the cowardly-ſlaviſh indulgence of the men to the intolerable pride, arrogance, vanity, and luxury of the women; who, ſtrictly adhering to the rules of modern education, ſeem to employ their whole ſtock of invention in contriving new arts of profuſion faſter than the moſt parſimonious huſband can afford: and, to compaſs this work the more effectually, their univerſal maxim is to deſpiſe and deteſt every thing of the growth and manufacture of their own country, and moſt to value whatever comes from the very remoteſt parts of the globe. And I am convinced, that, if the virtuoſi could once find out a world in the Moon, with a paſſage to it, our women would wear nothing but what came directly from thence.

The prime coſt of wine yearly imported to *Ireland* is valued at 30,000*l.*; and the tea (including coffee and chocolate) at five times that ſum. The lace, ſilks, callicoes, and all other unneceſſary ornaments for women, including *Engliſh* cloths and ſtuffs, added to the former articles, make up (to compute groſsly) about 400,000*l.*

Now, if we ſhould allow the 30,000*l.* wherein the women have their ſhare, and which is all we have to comfort us, and deduct 70,000*l.* more for over-reaching, there would ſtill remain 300,000*l.* annually ſpent, for unwholeſome drugs and unneceſſary finery. Which prodigious ſum would be wholly ſaved, and many thouſands of our miſerable

ſhop-

ſhop-keepers and manufacturers comfortably ſupported.

Let ſpeculative people buſy their brains as much as they pleaſe, there is no other way to prevent this kingdom from ſinking for ever, than by utterly renouncing all foreign dreſs and luxury.

It is abſolutely ſo in fact, that every huſband, of any fortune in the kingdom, is nouriſhing a poiſonous devouring ſerpent in his boſom, with all the miſchief, but with none of its wiſdom.

If all the women were clad with the growth of their own country, they might ſtill vie with each other in the courſe of foppery; and ſtill have room left to vie with each other, and equally ſhew their wit and judgment in deciding upon the variety of *Iriſh* ſtuffs. And, if they could be contented with their native wholeſome ſlops for breakfaſt, we ſhould hear no more of the ſpleen, hyſterics, colics, palpitations, and aſthmas. They might ſtill be allowed to ruin each other and their huſbands at play, becauſe the money loſt would only circulate among ourſelves.

My lord, I freely own it a wild imagination, that any words will cure the ſottiſhneſs of men, or the vanity of women; but the kingdom is in a fair way of producing the moſt effectual remedy, when there will not be money left for the common courſe of buying and ſelling the very neceſſaries of life in our markets, unleſs we abſolutely change the whole method of our proceedings.

The

The corporation of weavers in woollen and ſilk, who have ſo frequently offered propoſals both to your grace and to me, are the hotteſt and coldeſt generation of men that I have known. About a month ago, they attended your grace, when I had the honour to be with you, and deſigned me the ſame favour. They deſired you would recommend to your clergy to wear gowns of *Iriſh* ſtuffs, which might probably ſpread the example among all their brethren in the kingdom; and, perhaps, among the lawyers and gentlemen of the univerſity, and among the citizens of thoſe corporations who appear in gowns on ſolemn occaſions. I then mentioned a kind of ſtuff, not above eight-pence a yard, which I heard had been contrived by ſome of the trade, and was very convenient. I deſired they would prepare ſome of that, or any ſort of black ſtuff, on a certain day, when your grace would appoint as many clergymen as could readily be found to meet at your palace, and there give their opinions; and that, your grace's viſitation approaching, you could then have the beſt opportunity of ſeeing what could be done in a matter of ſuch conſequence, as they ſeemed to think, to the woollen manufacture. But, inſtead of attending, as was expected, they came to me a fortnight after with a new propoſal, that ſomething ſhould be written, by an acceptable and able hand, to promote in general the wearing of home manufactures, and their civilities would fix that work upon me. I aſked if they had prepared the ſtuffs,

as they had promiſed, and your grace expected; but they had not made the leaſt ſtep in the matter, nor, as it appears, thought of it more.

I did, ſome years ago, propoſe to the maſters and principal dealers in the home manufactures of ſilk and wool, that they ſhould meet together; and, after mature conſideration, publiſh advertiſements to the following purpoſe.

That, in order to encourage the wearing of *Iriſh* manufactures in ſilk and woollen, they gave notice to the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, That they, the under ſigned, would enter into bonds, for themſelves and for each other, to ſell the ſeveral ſorts of ſtuffs, cloths, and ſilks, made to the beſt perfection they were able, for certain fixed prices; and in ſuch a manner, that, if a child were ſent to any of their ſhops, the buyer might be ſecure of the value and goodneſs, and meaſure of the ware: and, leſt this might be thought to look like a monopoly, any other member of trade might be admitted, upon ſuch conditions as ſhould be agreed on. And, if any perſon whatſoever ſhould complain that he was ill-uſed in the value and goodneſs of what he bought, the matter ſhould be examined, the perſon injured be fully ſatisfied by the whole corporation, without delay, and the diſhoneſt ſeller be ſtruck out of the ſociety, unleſs it appeared evidently that the failure proceeded only from miſtake.

The

The mortal danger is, that, if theſe dealers could prevail, by the goodneſs and cheapneſs of their cloths and ſtuffs, to give a turn to the principal people of *Ireland* in favour of their goods; they would relapſe into the knaviſh practice peculiar to this kingdom, which is apt to run through all trades, even ſo low as a common ale-ſeller; who, as ſoon as he gets a vogue for his liquor, and outſells his neighbours, thinks his credit will put off the worſt he can buy, till his cuſtomers will come no more. Thus I have known at *London*, in a general mourning, the drapiers dye black all their old damaged goods, and ſell them at double rates; then complain, and petition the court, that they are ready to ſtarve by the continuance of the mourning.

Therefore, I ſay, theſe principal weavers, who would enter into ſuch a compact as I have mentioned, muſt give ſufficient ſecurity againſt all ſuch practices: for, if once the women can perſuade their huſbands that foreign goods, beſides the finery, will be as cheap, and do more ſervice, our laſt ſtate will be worſe than the firſt.

I do not here pretend to digeſt perfectly the method by which theſe principal ſhop-keepers ſhall proceed in ſuch a propoſal; but my meaning is clear enough, and cannot reaſonably be objected againſt.

We have ſeen what a deſtructive loſs the kingdom received, by the deteſtable fraud of the merchants, or northern linen-weavers, or both; notwithſtanding all the care of the

governors at that board, when we had an offer of commerce with the *Spaniards* for our linen, to the value, as I am told, of 300,000*l.* a year. But, while we deal like pedlars, we ſhall practiſe like pedlars, and ſacrifiſe all honeſty to the preſent urging advantage.

What I have ſaid may ſerve as an anſwer to the deſire made me by the corporation of weavers, that I would offer my notions to the public. As to any thing further, let them apply themſelves to the parliament in their next ſeſſion. Let them prevail on the houſe of commons to grant one very reaſonable requeſt; and I ſhall think there is ſtill ſome ſpirit left in the nation, when I read a vote to this purpoſe: Reſolved, *nemine contradicente*, That this houſe will, for the future, wear no cloths but ſuch as are made of *Iriſh* growth, or of *Iriſh* manufacture, nor will permit their wives or children to wear any other: and that they will, to the utmoſt, endeavour to prevail with their friends, relations, dependents, and tenants, to follow their example. And if, at the ſame time, they could baniſh tea, and coffee, and china-ware out of their families, and force their wives to chat their ſcandal over an infuſion of ſage, or other wholeſome domeſtic vegetables, we might poſſibly be able to ſubſiſt, and pay our abſentees, penſioners, generals, civil officers, appeals, colliers, temporary travellers, ſtudents, ſchool-boys, ſplenetic viſitors of *Bath*, *Tunbridge*, and *Epſom*, with all other ſmaller drains, by ſending our crude unwrought goods to *England*, and

and receiving from thence, and all other countries, nothing but what is fully manufactured, and keep a few potatoes and oatmeal for our own ſubſiſtence.

I have been, for a dozen years paſt, wiſely prognoſticating the preſent condition of this kingdom; which any human creature, of common ſenſe, could foretel, with as little ſagacity as myſelf. My meaning is, that a conſumptive body muſt needs die, which hath ſpent all its ſpirits, and received no nouriſhment. Yet I am often tempted to pity, when I hear the poor farmer and cottager lamenting the hardneſs of the times, and imputing them either to one or two ill ſeaſons, which better climates than ours are more expoſed to; or to ſcarcity of ſilver, which, to a nation of liberty, would only be a ſlight and temporary inconvenience, to be removed at a month's warning.

ANSWER

ANSWER

TO SEVERAL

LETTERS from unknown PERSONS.

Written in the Year MDCCXXIX.

GENTLEMEN,

I AM inclined to think that I received a letter from you two [e] laſt ſummer, directed to *Dublin*, while I was in the country, whither it was ſent me, and I ordered an anſwer to it to be printed; but, it ſeems, it had little effect, and I ſuppoſe this will have not much more. But the heart of this people is waxed groſs, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes they have cloſed. And, gentlemen, I am to tell you another thing: that the world is too regardleſs of what we write for the public good: that, after we have delivered our thoughts, without any proſpect of advantage or of reputation, which latter is not to be had but by ſubſcribing our names, we cannot prevail upon a printer to be at the charge of ſending it into the world, unleſs we will be at all, or half the ex-

[e] *Trueman* and *Layfield*.

pence:

pence: and, although we are willing enough to beſtow our labours, we think it unreaſonble to be out of pocket; becauſe it, probably, may not conſiſt with the ſituation of our affairs.

I do very much approve your good intentions, and, in a great meaſure, your manner of declaring them; and I do imagine you intended that the world ſhould not only know your ſentiments, but my anſwer, which I ſhall impartially give.

That great prelate, in whoſe cover you directed your letter, ſent it to me this morning; and I begin my anſwer to-night, not knowing what interruption I may meet.

I have ordered your letter to be printed, as it ought to be, along with my anſwer; becauſe, I conceive, it will be more acceptable and informing to the kingdom.

I ſhall therefore now go on to anſwer your letter in all manner of ſincerity.

Although your letter be directed to me, yet I take myſelf to be only an imaginary perſon: for, although I conjecture I had formerly one from you, yet I never anſwered it otherwiſe than in print; neither was I at a loſs to know the reaſons why ſo many people of this kingdom were tranſporting themſelves to *America*. And, if this encouragement were owing to a pamphlet written, giving an account of the country of *Pennſylvania*, to tempt people to go thither; I do declare that thoſe who were tempted, by ſuch a narrative, to ſuch a journey, were fools, and

and the author a moſt impudent knave; at leaſt, if it be the ſame pamphlet I ſaw when it firſt came out, which is above twenty-five years ago, dedicated to *William Penn* (whom, by a miſtake, you call ſir *William Penn*) and ſtyling him, by authority of the ſcripture, Moſt noble governor. For I was very well acquainted with *Penn*, and did, ſome years after, talk with him upon that pamphlet, and the impudence of the author, who ſpoke ſo many things in praiſe of the ſoil and climate, which *Penn* himſelf did abſolutely contradict. For he did aſſure me, that this country wanted the ſhelter of mountains, which left it open to the Northern winds from *Hudſon's Bay* and the *Frozen Sea*, which deſtroyed all plantations of trees, and was even pernicious to all common vegetables. But, indeed, *New-York*, *Virginia*, and other parts leſs Northward, or more defended by mountains, are deſcribed as excellent countries: but, upon what conditions of advantage foreigners go thither, I am yet to ſeek.

What evils our people avoid by running from hence, is eaſier to be determined. They conceive themſelves to live under the tyranny of moſt cruel exacting landlords, who have no view further than encreaſing their rent-rolls. *Secondly*, You complain of the want of trade, whereof you ſeem not to know the reaſon. *Thirdly*, You lament moſt juſtly the money ſpent by abſentees in *England*. *Fourthly*, You complain that your linen manufacture declines.

clines. *Fifthly*, That your tythe-collectors oppreſs you. *Sixthly*, That your children have no hopes of preferment in the church, the revenue, or the army; to which you might have added the law, and all civil employments whatſoever. *Seventhly*, You are undone for want of ſilver, and want all other money.

I could eaſily add ſome other motives, which, to men of ſpirit, who deſire and expect, and think they deſerve, the common privileges of human nature, would be of more force than any you have yet named to drive them out of this kingdom. But, as theſe ſpeculations may probably not much affect the brains of your people, I ſhall chuſe to let them paſs unmentioned. Yet I cannot but obſerve, that my very good and virtuous friend, his excellency *Burnet (O fili, nec tali indigne parente!)* hath not hitherto been able to perſuade his vaſſals, by his oratory in the ſtyle of a command, to ſettle a revenue on his vice-royal perſon. I have been likewiſe aſſured, that, in one of thoſe colonies on the continent, which nature hath ſo far favoured, as (by the induſtry of the inhabitants) to produce a great quantity of excellent rice; the ſtubbornneſs of the people, who, having been told that the world was wide, took it into their heads that they might ſell their own rice at whatever foreign market they pleaſed, and ſeem, by their practice, very unwilling to quit that opinion.

But,

But, to return to my ſubject: I muſt confeſs to you both, that, if one reaſon of your people's deſerting us be the deſpair of things growing better in their own country, I have not one ſyliable to anſwer; becauſe that would be to hope for what is impoſſible; and ſo I have been telling the public theſe ten years. For there are three events which muſt precede any ſuch bleſſing: *firſt*, A liberty of trade; *ſecondly*, A ſhare of preferments in all kinds, equal to the *Britiſh* natives; and, *thirdly*, A return of thoſe abſentees, who take away almoſt one half of the kingdom's revenue. As to the firſt and ſecond, there is nothing left us but deſpair; and, for the third, it will never happen till the kingdom hath no money to ſend them, for which, in my own particular, I ſhould not be ſorry.

The exaction of landlords hath indeed been a grievance of above twenty years ſtanding. But, as to what you object about the ſevere clauſes relating to improvement, the fault lies wholly on the other ſide: for the landlords, either by their ignorance or greedineſs of making large rent-rolls, have performed this matter ſo ill, as we ſee by experience, that there is not one tenant in five hundred who hath made any improvement worth mentioning. For which I appeal to any man who rides through the kingdom, where little is to be found among the tenants but beggary and deſolation; the cabins of the *Scotch* themſelves, in *Ulſter*, being as

dirty

dirty and miſerable as thoſe of the wildeſt *Iriſh*. Whereas good firm penal clauſes for improvement, with a tolerable eaſy rent and a reaſonable period of time, would, in twenty years, have encreaſed the rents of *Ireland* at leaſt a third part in the intrinſic value.

I am glad to hear you ſpeak with ſome decency of the clergy, and to impute the exactions you lament to the managers or farmers of the tythes. But you entirely miſtake the fact: for I defy the moſt wicked and moſt powerful clergyman in the kingdom to oppreſs the meaneſt farmer in the pariſh; and I defy the ſame clergyman to prevent himſelf from being cheated by the ſame farmer, whenever that farmer ſhall be diſpoſed to be knaviſh or peeviſh. For, although the *Ulſter* tything-teller is more advantageous to the clergy than any other in the kingdom, yet the miniſter can demand no more than his tenth; and, where the corn much exceeds the ſmall tythes, as, except in ſome diſtricts, I am told it always doth, he is at the mercy of every ſtubborn farmer, eſpecially of thoſe whoſe ſect as well as intereſt incline them to oppoſition. However, I take it that your people, bent for *America*, do not ſhew the beſt ſide of their prudence in making this one part of their complaint: yet they are ſo far wiſe as not to make the payment of tythes a ſcruple of conſcience, which is too groſs for any proteſtant diſſenter, except a quaker, to pretend. But, do your people indeed think,

that,

that, if tythes were aboliſhed, or delivered into the hands of the landlord after the bleſſed manner in the *Scotch* ſpiritual œconomy, the tenant would ſit eaſier in his rent under the ſame perſon, who muſt be lord of the ſoil and of the tythe together?

I am ready enough to grant, that the oppreſſion of landlords, the utter ruin of trade, with its neceſſary conſequence, the want of money, half the revenues of the kingdom ſpent abroad, the continued dearth of three years, and the ſtrong deluſion in your people by falſe allurement from *America*, may be the chief motives of their eagerneſs after ſuch an expedition. But there is likewiſe another temptation, which is not of inconſiderable weight; which is, their itch of living in a country where their ſect is predominant, and where their eyes and conſciences will not be offended by the ſtumbling-block of ceremonies, habits, and ſpiritual titles.

But I am ſurpriſed to find that thoſe calamities, whereof we are innocent, have been ſufficient to drive many families out of their country, who had no reaſon to complain of oppreſſive landlords. For, while I was laſt year in the Northern parts, a perſon of quality, whoſe eſtate was lett above twenty years ago, and then at a very reaſonable rent, ſome for leaſes of lives, and ſome perpetuities, did, in a few months, purchaſe eleven of thoſe leaſes at a very inconſiderable price, although they were two years ago reckoned

to pay but half value. From whence it is manifeſt that our preſent miſerable condition, and the diſmal proſpect of worſe, with other reaſons above aſſigned, are ſufficient to put men upon trying this deſperate experiment of changing the ſcene they are in, although landlords ſhould, by a miracle, become leſs inhuman.

There is hardly a ſcheme propoſed for improving the trade of this kingdom, which doth not manifeſtly ſhew the ſtupidity and ignorance of the propoſer: and I laugh with contempt at thoſe weak wiſe heads who proceed upon general maxims, or adviſe us to follow the examples of *Holland* and *England*. Theſe empirics talk by rote, without underſtanding the conſtitution of the kingdom; as if a phyſician, knowing that exerciſe contributed much to health, ſhould preſcribe to his patient under a ſevere fit of the gout, to walk ten miles every morning. The directions for *Ireland* are very ſhort and plain; to encourage agriculture and home-conſumption, and utterly diſcard all importations which are not abſolutely neceſſary for health or life. And how few neceſſaries, conveniencies, or even comforts of life, are denied us by nature, or not to be attained by labour and induſtry? are thoſe deteſtable extravagancies of *Flanders*-lace, *Engliſh*-cloths made of our own wool, and other goods, *Italian* or *Indian* ſilks, tea, coffee, chocolate, *China*-ware, and that profuſion of wines, by the

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knavery of merchants growing dearer every ſeaſon, with a hundred unneceſſary fopperies, better known to others than me; are theſe, I ſay, fit for us, any more than for the beggar who could not eat his veal without oranges? is it not the higheſt indignity to human nature, that men ſhould be ſuch poltrons, as to ſuffer the kingdom and themſelves to be undone, by the vanity, the folly, the pride, and wantonneſs of their wives; who, under their preſent corruptions, ſeem to be a kind of animal ſuffered, for our ſins, to be ſent into the world for the deſtruction of families, ſocieties, and kingdoms, and whoſe ſtudy ſeems directed to be as expenſive as they poſſibly can in every uſeleſs article of living; who, by long practice, can reconcile the moſt pernicious foreign drugs to their health and pleaſure, provided they are but expenſive; as ſtarlings grow fat with henbane; who contract a robuſtneſs by mere practice of ſloth and luxury; who can play deep ſeveral hours after midnight, ſleep beyond noon, revel upon *Indian* poiſons, and ſpend the revenue of a moderate family, to adorn a nauſeous, unwholeſome-living carcaſe? let thoſe few, who are not concerned in any part of this accuſation, ſuppoſe it unſaid; let the reſt take it among them. Gracious God! in his mercy, look down upon a nation ſo ſhamefully beſotted.

If I am poſſeſſed of an hundred pounds a year, and by ſome misfortune it ſinks to

fifty, without a poſſibility of ever being retrieved: does it remain a queſtion, in ſuch an exigency, what I am to do? muſt not I retrench one half in every article of expence? or, retire to ſome cheap, diſtant part of the country, where neceſſaries are at half value?

Is there any mortal who can ſhew me, under the circumſtances we ſtand with our neighbours, under their inclinations towards us, under laws never to be repealed, under the deſolation cauſed by abſentees, under many other circumſtances not to be mentioned, that this kingdom can ever be a nation of trade, or ſubſiſt by any other method than that of a reduced family, by the utmoſt parſimony, in the manner I have already preſcribed?

I am tired with letters from many unreaſonable well-meaning people, who are daily preſſing me to deliver my thoughts in this deplorable juncture; which, upon many others, I have ſo often done in vain. What will it import, that half a ſcore people, in a coffee-houſe, may happen to read this paper, and even the majority of thoſe few differ in every ſentiment from me? if the farmer be not allowed to ſow his corn, if half the little money among us be ſent to pay rents to *Iriſh* abſentees, and the reſt for foreign luxury, and dreſs for the women, what will our charitable diſpoſitions avail, when there is nothing left to be given? when, contrary to all cuſtom and example, all neceſſaries of life are ſo exorbitant,

exorbitant, when money of all kinds was never known to be ſo ſcarce; ſo that gentlemen of no contemptible eſtates are forced to retrench in every article (except what relates to their wives) without being able to ſhew any bounty to the poor?

END of VOL. XV.